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III.—CLARIFICATION OF THE STATEMENT MADE BY THE FINANCE MINISTER REGARDING SRI S. B. ADITYAN'S RESIGNATION.

* SRI T. PURUSHOTHAM:—"Mr. Chairman, Sir, with your leave I wish to refer to a statement made by the Hon. the Finance Minister day before yesterday on the floor of this House. He said that Mr. Adityan was making an offer of resignation of his seat in the Council because he expected a vacancy soon in the Tirunelveli district and that Mr. Adityan wanted to contest that vacant Assembly seat. I was under the impression and I believe several hon. Members were under the impression that there was a vacancy in the Tirunelveli district. But we find from this morning's newspapers that an election petition is pending before an Election Tribunal with regard to a Tirunelveli constituency. It is not fair to make any reference to a vacancy in that district when the matter is pending before an Election Tribunal, as it is liable to be misconstrued. I presume the Hon. Minister did not refer to any particular vacancy. Anyway as he has made a reference about it, I hope he will make it clear that he did not refer to any particular vacancy or to any matter that might be pending before an Election Tribunal."

DR. C. NATHAMUNI NAIDU:—"I want to know why a clarification is sought now . . ."

MR. CHAIRMAN:—"The Hon. the Finance Minister will reply."

THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM:—"If there is no vacancy, the question of contest will not arise. I thought there was a vacancy."

IV.—GOVERNMENT BILL.

THE MADRAS APPROPRIATION (NO. 2) BILL, 1953 (L.A. BILL NO. 26 OF 1953).

THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM:—"Sir, I beg to move—
‘That the Madras Appropriation (No. 2) Bill^a, 1953 (L.A. Bill No. 26 of 1953), as passed by the Legislative Assembly, be taken into consideration.’”

"I do not propose to make any speech at this stage. I shall reserve what I have got to say when I reply to the debate."

MR. CHAIRMAN:—"Motion moved—

‘That the Madras Appropriation (No. 2) Bill, 1953 (L.A. Bill No. 26 of 1953), as passed by the Legislative Assembly, be taken into consideration.’”

"The motion is now before the House for discussion."

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* SRI MOHAMMAD RAZA KHAN:—“ Mr. Chairman, Sir, we have had two days of very useful discussion at a very high level and I am sure the Government will bear in mind the very constructive suggestions made by the Members on this side of the House as well as the Members of the Party in power. I do realize the difficulties of the Government of Madras. Particularly this year, they had to spend the first six months in dealing with the pre-partition problems and the next six months in dealing with the post-partition problems. Any Government which stands for the welfare of the people cannot taken shelter under the plea that the conditions prevailing had been there for decades or centuries. Even a most efficient government cannot change the situation all of a sudden. Particularly when the Finance Minister says this thing, I really have got my own doubts. The present Ministry might have been in power only for about two years. But the fact remains that the Congress party has been administering this State right from the year 1946. Therefore, the present Government which is a Party Government cannot but take responsibility for all that has happened since the year 1946. I do feel that the State Government and the Hon. the Finance Minister, in particular, have to take stock of the present situation prevailing in the State. Sir, trade and business in this State have been facing a big slump. It is not a sellers' market as it was formerly, but it is a buyers' market. What is more, the business, as is evident from the reduced income to the Government from sales tax, is having a very bad time. I really feel that the State Government—whatever may be their limitations—cannot but take stock of the situation in the State.

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“ The second aspect of the question to which I want to make reference is this. The Hon. the Finance Minister said, ‘ We alone are not responsible for the growing unemployment, be it among the educated people or the uneducated people, or be it among the middle classes, the lower middle classes, the poorer sections of the people or the agricultural labourers.’ Sir, the time has come for any Government to take stock of the situation, particularly in the matter of giving employment to the people. I know the problem is so big and so gigantic and it is there for such a long time that it cannot be solved overnight. But I do maintain that it is the responsibility of the State Government to do the needful, and I am sure they will evolve some proposal in this regard in the coming year.

“ As regards the structure of taxation, it is very very difficult and dangerous subject. Personally, I feel that where the Deputy Leader of my Party has failed I am not going to succeed. But the fact remains that everyone will admit that the level of taxation has gone up considerably in the course of the last six or seven years. Take, for instance, the question of the sales tax. What was the rate of tax when it was introduced, for the first time, in the year 1937 by the Hon. Sri Rajagopalachari? Then what was the rate prevailing at the time the Advisers' regime

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came to a close and the Popular Ministry took charge of the Government? I think it was 4 pies in a rupee then. But to-day, it is three pies in a rupee in respect of all the commodities and double and treble this rate in respect of some luxurious articles. There is a general feeling among the public that the sales tax is very, very oppressive. Certainly, the Hon. the Finance Minister cannot deny that it is not collected at one point but is collected at four or five points. It is collected at every stage from the place of manufacture till the article goes into the hands of the middlemen, the wholesalers, the retailers and the consumers. - Therefore, I say this tax is collected at five points. Sir, I do concede the point of the Government that they should balance their Budget and that unless and until they impose additional taxes, they cannot make adequate provision for carrying on the nation-building activities like education, medical relief, etc. But, at the same time, I feel that the hon. Member Dr. John was perfectly right in voicing the opinion of the public that the time had come for the Government of Madras to study or examine the whole structure of taxation in this State and see whether any relief could be given. Even the other day, he did not cast any aspersions on any Member of the Government or on the Government as a whole. What he said was that the sales tax was a sort of blood-sucking leech. Then, even very recently, the tax on tobacco has been increased very considerably. The fact remains that this tax was increased by 20 per cent although it was increased by 50 or 60 per cent at an earlier stage. The position is similar with regard to all sorts of taxes including the tax on buses and lorries. The electricity surcharge which was introduced during the war is maintained at the same level. Sir, I am not saying that the Government should reduce the rate of this tax and that. I know the difficulties of the Government. But the general tendency has always been that whenever the Government bring in or introduce a tax, it takes a permanent shape and it goes on increasing. That has been the tendency as far as taxation measures are concerned. I maintain that it is an elementary principle of taxation that the Government should first make out a case that in a particular field the taxation is not adequate. There is no use of the Government saying, 'Well, we require money. Our needs are such that we cannot but go on increasing the rate of taxes.' If that be the basis, the Government can go on increasing the rates of taxes, without any limit, as has been the case in respect of sales tax. But, I do feel that the Government of Madras and, particularly, the Hon. the Finance Minister will do well to have a thorough examination of all the relevant factors in the tax structure of the province. With regard to sales tax, there has been a good deal of agitation. I know the merits and demerits of single-point taxation and multi-point taxation. Even in the last Assembly, Member after Member used to impress upon the then Finance Minister, Sri Gopala Reddi, the need to examine the question whether he could concede the demand for single-point taxation, at least in respect of certain commodities. I think, in a way, he was agreeable subject to the

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condition that he examined the question. Very recently, Bombay which was having single-point taxation has shifted to multi-point taxation like Madras and, as a result, there has been a great deal of agitation. Now, the Government will do well to examine whether single-point taxation cannot be introduced at least in respect of certain definite commodities. If, after experiment, they feel that it is good, that the harassment is less and that the cost of collection to the Government is also less, then it is left to them to enforce it in respect of other commodities also. But there has been a really persistent demand that in regard to certain commodities the Government should resort to single-point taxation. There has been an agitation also to see that there is no sales tax on the articles sold by petty merchants like butchers and on perishable articles. I am very happy that the Hon. the Finance Minister has admitted that there is harassment of such petty merchants. Sir, Mr. Wattel, an ex-Accountant-General of Madras, has written in one of his famous books on 'Public Finance' as follows:—

'Public revenue should be raised in an equitable manner and spent economically so that the tax-payer may get full value of the money.'

I do concede that the tax-payer is getting the full value of the money to an appreciable measure. But, on behalf of the Opposition, I say that the time has come for the Government to examine the whole question thoroughly and see whether single-point taxation cannot be introduced in the matter of sales tax.

"Then, Sir, the Government of Madras have, no doubt, done something last year regarding the handloom industry. In fact, that is a subject which has very often been discussed in the Assembly, in the Council and by the public outside. I do concede that the present Government have taken a good deal of interest in the matter. What is more, the Hon. the Chief Minister has created an opinion not only in the State but also in the Government of India circles that there is a strong case for supporting this ancient industry. This is an industry which gives employment to lakhs and lakhs of people. Naturally, something should be done for this industry. I only want to know—as it has not been stated here—how the amount allotted to this State by the Government of India out of the cess on mill cloth is spent—whether we are spending it properly, whether the handloom weavers are benefited by it and whether the trade is going to flourish. These are all matters which deserve the consideration of the Government. Here also there is a mishap. I think, subject to correction, a sum of Rs. 1 crore or something less is being allotted to this State. But most of the benefit is going to co-operative societies. I am not against co-operative societies getting the benefit. But the fact remains that only 18 per cent of the handloom weavers are within the fold of co-operative societies and the remaining 82 per cent are outside that fold. Is it the opinion of the Government that the benefit of the Rs. 1 crore fund should go to the 18 per cent of handloom weavers who are within the fold of co-operative societies or to the 82 per cent who are also outside it? The Government may say, 'Why not all

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these people come within the fold of co-operative societies? But the individual form of running this industry is there and it is very difficult to bring all the individual weavers within the co-operative fold. However, the Government will do well to examine this question and see that this benefit is shared by all and not by a very few.

"Then, formerly there used to be a State Handloom Board. They used to advise the Minister concerned or the head of the department in regard to questions pertaining to the handloom industry. I do not know whether, for the present, any Handloom Board is being formed as far as the State of Madras is concerned.

"Then, the oft-repeated question is that of Prohibition. Much can be said both for and against it. There have been suggestions supporting it and opposing it also. There have been people who have been insisting that, whatever may be the amount of illicit distillation, we have to stand by Prohibition. There have also been people who have been equally vehement in their demand that Prohibition should be scrapped. But consistent with the attitude adopted by me in this regard, and more so as a Muslim, I cannot but support the policy of Prohibition. In fact it is a very good scheme of the Madras Government though there may be some limitation. Some people who are bent upon making money out of this scheme may resort to illicit distillation. But the fact remains that the majority of the addicts in this State have been prevented from having an easy and free recourse to drinking. They cannot now easily walk into a tavern and have a drink. That is a fact which cannot be denied. I feel it is not right nor fair on our part to ask the Government to scrap Prohibition. Far from it, our suggestion should be, 'Here are the loopholes and here are the practical difficulties. Here are cases where the authorities are not implementing the scheme properly. Here is our solution to rectify the defects.' That should be our attitude. While I am on this subject, I wish to say that when the Congress party introduced this scheme, they had high hopes that their supporters and their partymen will carry on necessary and effective propaganda in favour of Prohibition. Unfortunately, there has been no propaganda whatsoever. There has been some propaganda at Government level. This will not do. I am sure the Government of Madras will look into this matter and take necessary steps to enforce this scheme properly and effectively. By so doing, they will be doing a great service to the people of this State.

"Sir, here we have our Chief Minister, Sri Rajagopalachariar, who has been noted for doing something new and something unusual. This time he has brought in a lady Minister and put her in charge of the portfolio of Prohibition. I take this opportunity to congratulate the Hon. Lady Minister and I wish her all success. Her success means the failure of men. If she succeeds—I hope she will—our Chief Minister, Rajaji

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will be establishing the fact and will say, 'Look here, the men who were put in charge of Prohibition failed and the lady Minister who was brought by me and given this portfolio has succeeded.' In fact, there will then be a case for appointing more and more lady Ministers in the future set up of the Cabinet. Whatever it is, I wish her all success.

" Sir, reference has been made by the hon. the Leader of the Opposition to one or two important matters and I think I need not dilate on them. I only want to say a few words on some of them. Reference has been made to co-operative societies. I do not claim to know much about the working of co-operative societies. But the fact remains that a number of these co-operative societies have come into existence during the war period and even after the war. Most of the commodities were at that time controlled by the Government. For instance, things like foodgrains, yarn, cloth, etc., were controlled by the Government and it was very easy for these societies to have good business, and they were having a good margin of profit too. So they were carrying on very well. Again, as I said previously it was a seller's market. But, what is the position today? Most of those co-operative societies are not able to compete with the existing trade channels. Therefore, I feel that in due course most of these co-operative societies which have sprung up in various places, will, by force of circumstances, have to be closed down, as most of them will be incurring losses. I am sure the Government of Madras will soon appoint a Committee of Enquiry as suggested by the hon. the Leader of the Opposition, so that the Committee may look into the whole matter and suggest ways and means whereby the existing defects can be removed. The Committee may also consider the feasibility of amalgamating two or three small societies which may be situated in the same area or contiguous areas.

" Sir, reference has been made by the hon. the Leader of the Opposition to the pawn-brokers or money-lenders, and I only want to supplement it by adding a few words. I know legislation and enactment by the Government in this regard. But I am sorry they are only kept under cold storage. Those money-lenders have got their own way of circumventing the law. I know when poor people get a loan from these people, they are made to execute a bond for three or four times the amount that is actually paid to them. Again, though the usual interest is 12 per cent or so, the actual interest that they collect is very much more and very many times that amount. These are hard days and the economic condition of the lower and upper middle classes and also the poor people, who have to go to these money-lenders very often, is very bad. These poor people have necessarily to go in for a loan and they have to approach these money-lenders for this purpose. But these money-lenders have got a knack of evading all Government laws in one way or other. So I request the Government to bring in a definite Bill so that these money-lenders can be controlled and brought under check.

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“ Now, I come to a very important subject, viz., bus transport. Unfortunately the Hon. the Minister for Transport is not here. It is easy for the Government of Madras and for the Minister concerned to say, ‘ Well, everything is all right. We have put so many buses on the road. We have put the ‘ Red Lady ’ type of buses on the road. People are satisfied with our buses and so on. This is the type of statement to which we have been accustomed in these past five or six years. Previously, Sri B. Gopala Reddi was saying these things. It has now fallen to the lot of the present Transport Minister to say these things. If one really goes to Mylapore, Mount Road, or Royapetta and sees things for one self, one will be able to see hundreds of people waiting to catch the bus. Bus after bus will pass, but with not a seat for these waiting people to get in. So these poor people who have to reach their places of office or business at a particular hour are made to wait and wait for hours together only to see that no bus picks them up. The Hon. the Minister for Finance said that the tramways have been closed for ever and we will not have trams any more. It is all right to say all those things. But, what is the duty and responsibility of the Government? Can they be satisfied by merely saying that the tramways have been closed down and we will not have them any more in the city? Can they say that the bus transport of which they are having a monopoly now in the city is running efficiently and there is nothing to complain against their bus service? Can they say that the buses that they have put on the roads now are sufficient to cope with the traffic? Can they tell the general public, who are using their buses that they have put sufficient number of buses for their use? I dare say they have not put the required number of buses on the road. There is no use of saying, ‘ We must take into account the number of buses that were plying in the city before the tramways were closed and the number of buses that are plying now after the closure of the tramway company. If we take these figures into account, we can easily come to the conclusion that there has not been an appreciable increase in the number of buses put on the road after the stoppage of tramways. Again, what about the numerous complaints that some of the buses have stopped for repairs. When we take all these factors into account, we will come to the natural conclusion that there is a definite case against the Government that they have failed to put the required number of buses on the road. It is but natural that the Government Transport department has come in for a good deal of criticism and condemnation. I am not making a charge against the Government. It is a matter of reality. It is all right for the Hon. the Transport Minister to get into his car one day and go to the Mylapore stand. News of his visit to that stand may also appear in the columns of the dailies. But let me tell the Government that this complacent attitude on their part is not going to bring any credit to them. It is not enough if the Hon. Minister alone is satisfied. Really, the people, the poor people who use the buses daily have got to be satisfied. The

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question is whether they are satisfied with the present state of affairs or not. The answer is 'No'. They are not at all satisfied with the number of buses that are at present on the road. Sir, much has been said about the peak hour traffic. Nothing has been done to relieve congestion during peak hours. Again, we have been daily seeing how the bus conductors and drivers behave towards the passengers. Their conduct is far from satisfactory. We have also seen many conductors and drivers, who were relieved of their duty and were in their off-duty, occupying most of the seats in the buses with the result that many of the passengers, sometimes even 10 or 12 of them, are made to stand. The Government may say that these things are inevitable. But they must just think what will be the reaction of the man in the street. The space between seats is very small and a number of passengers are forced to stand in the bus. The Government must look into this matter and take steps to remove these difficulties. I am not saying these things just to get some cheap publicity. It is not at all my aim. I am only trying to put these difficulties before the Government so that they may do something in the matter and thereby have an effective control over the department. The high officials of the Transport department will have the tendency to show some profit to the Government. When the Government themselves run the buses, they should not be merely guided by the profit-motive. They should take every care to satisfy the general public. I am sure the Government will look into the matter and do the needful. They may say there is the Transport Advisory Committee. I was myself a member of one such committee. It meets once in a way, talks something and disperses. No action is taken by the Government on the proposals submitted by the Advisory Committee. That has been my experience in the past and I have no reason to believe that things have now changed in any way.

"Sir, I would then refer to one or two things which have not been referred to so far by any hon. Member. One is Police Administration in this State. I would like to give credit to and also congratulate the Government of Madras on the way in which they have maintained law and order in the State in spite of tendencies and developments to disturb the peace. The present Government particularly deserve to be congratulated for they have done well. But there are still one or two aspects of the administration which I would like to bring to the notice of the Hon. the Chief Minister who is in charge of the Home portfolio. There is an enactment now in force for controlling private betting on horses and I think it was Mr. Muhammad Usman, who, when he was Home Member, introduced it. I may tell hon. Members of the House that this Act is a dead letter to-day. A man can bet from one rupee to one thousand rupees privately on races run in Madras, Bombay and Calcutta. The Police know about this and connive at it. The number of persons who manage this business with finance would be only few but lakhs and lakhs

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of people are ruined by this mode of betting. Many of the poor people bet some five or ten annas every day and lose it. None of the people are arrested by the Police, even though they know who are all involved in the game. Of course, once in a way, in order to satisfy the higher authorities, they arrest some people, produce them before courts and get them convicted to pay a fine of ten rupees or to undergo an imprisonment of one month. If you have an Act, you should either see that it is enforced properly or remove it from the State Book.

“Then, Sir, there is another pernicious evil like this which was formerly confined to the China Bazaar Road where big Marwaris live. I am referring to betting on ‘New York cotton’. I would tell you what it is. The New York cotton market starts with some quotation in the morning and closes with some other in the evening. A good number of people, mostly poor classes, have resorted to this betting habit. Formerly, Sir, very rich people on the Broadway side used to resort to this kind of gambling. But now it has become a common tendency with many in the City of Madras to bet on ‘Numbers’. The announcements regarding the morning and the evening quotations are written down openly in chalk on tarred roads. Sir, I have explained it enough and I am sure the Government of Madras will enquire into the matter and see that the evil is eradicated completely. If they feel they are incapable of controlling these things, let them say so and there is nothing wrong there. When my friend, Mr. Bhaktavatsalam was Minister for Public Works, an Act was passed abolishing betting on horses at races but the Government of the day very intelligently made a provision in the Act that the question of enforcing it would be a matter for the decision of the Government in their discretion. I understand that our Chief Minister is making a visit to the Guindy Race Course on the 3rd, that is to-morrow, to preside over the Independence Cup. I am sure he will definitely have an idea of the conditions obtaining there and see for himself whether betting on horses is a good thing.”

SRI K. BALASUBRAMANYA AYYAR:—“That is very doubtful.”

* SRI MOHAMMAD RAZA KHAN:—“I am sorry, my hon. Friend, Mr. Balasubramania Ayyar has not understood what I said. I said that the Chief Minister would have an opportunity to see conditions in the Race Course and find out whether races are good for the people or bad.”

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI:—“Hon. Member Mr. Balasubramania Ayyar feels that conditions will be better to-morrow.” (Laughter.)

* SRI MOHAMMAD RAZA KHAN:—“Sir, I have taken nearly twenty-five minutes and shall finish in four or five more minutes. Sir, during the discussion on the Budget, things not pertaining to our Budget and sometimes not pertaining to our

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State also were said. Some of the hon. Members referred to matters like Rajaji's leadership, his support to the Muslims and the Muslim League and the proposed agreement between Pakistan and America on the subject of military aid. My friend Mr. Govinda Menon, whom I have known better, made a charge against the Chief Minister to which the latter may reply. It is not my concern. But the trouble is he did not stop there. He is a very good speaker, but with very few points. Whenever his points are exhausted he attacks the Muslims and the Muslim League."

MR. CHAIRMAN:—"It does not relate to the Bill."

SRI MUHAMMAD USMAN:—"But he did not attack the Muslims. He attacked the Muslim League and that too the way of its functioning in Malabar."

* SRI MOHAMMAD RAZA KHAN:—"I am very thankful to hon. Member Mr. Usman for having come to the rescue of hon. Member Mr. Govinda Menon." (Laughter.)

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI:—"Any good Muslim comes to another's rescue."

* SRI MOHAMMAD RAZA KHAN:—"I am not going to say anything about my community. We have stopped talking about it. We have said enough and we leave it to the Government to do justice to us if they so care to. If they do it, well and good, and we do not want any special favours. Whether it is the Muslim League or Muslims in general, during the last three years they have said nothing or did nothing to which anybody could take objection. Even in the Palghat Conference, there was a definite direction to Muslims to keep aloof from the Communists and the Dravida Kazhagam in Tamilnad. The conference did nothing except that it made some representation to the Government regarding matters affecting the Muslim community. We, have great respect for the hon. Member Mr. Usman. We are really proud that in this province it was really hon. Member Mr. Usman who did so much for the creation of Pakistan. As a Member of the then Central Government it was he who did his best for the creation of Pakistan. Now he cannot escape responsibility and blame others. He should also share that along with other Muslims in this province."

SRI MUHAMMAD USMAN:—"Sir, on a point of personal explanation. I never was in favour of division of the country. If as a Member of the Government of India, I expressed any view on any matter; it was the view of the Government of India and not my personal view. I have never at any time said that Pakistan should be created, even as an official."

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* **SRI MOHAMMAD RAZA KHAN:**—"I do not want to get into controversy as to what he said as a Member of the Council of States. Facts will speak for themselves. We want the Congress party to be in power and we believe that it will be able to tackle the problems facing the country. After all, it is our desire that a stable Government should be there with a good and capable man at the head of the Government. But surely, one need not be in the party in power. But when people like the hon. Member Mr. Usman ask us to join the Congress, it leads us to some suspicion. Our object is to do our best for the welfare of the State. To be Minister or Chief Minister is after all a passing phase. But what is really wanted of a Chief Minister or a Minister is that when they retire, they should have a satisfaction of having done well by the State. The public should be in a position to appreciate what they have done. That should be their aim. I would like, in this connexion, to quote Tirukkural:

'Freedom from sickness and want, increased production of wealth, widespread contentment and joy and security represent the prime requisites of an ideal State.'

Let the Ministry have this as their guide. I hope our prosperity will increase and the State will flourish well.

"With these words, Sir, I conclude. Thank you."

12-10 p.m. **SRI MUHAMMAD USMAN:**—"The hon. Member said that the Muslim League was doing its best for the Muslim community. Has the Muslim League come out and said, after all that has happened whether it still believed in the two-nation theory? Has the Muslim League come out and said anything about the proposed military aid by America to Pakistan? It is a matter of very great concern."

SRI MOHAMMAD RAZA KHAN:—"I should like to invite the attention of the hon. Member Sri Usman to the statement issued by the League in the morning papers."

SRI M. P. SIVAGNANA GRAMANI:—"கனம் தலைவர் அவர்களே, நான் இந்த பட்ஜெட் விவாதத்தில் கலந்து கொள்ளும்போது அதற்கு மங்களம் பாடுகிற கட்டத்தில் நான் பேசுவதற்கு அனுமதிக்கப்பட்டிருக்கிறேன். அதற்கு தலைவர் அவர்களுக்கு எனது மனமார்ந்த நன்றியைத் தெரிவித்துக்கொண்டு இந்த மசோதாவை ஆதரிக்கும் முகம் சில வார்த்தைகளைக் கூறுகிறேன்.

"முதலில் இன்று இருக்கும் அமைச்சர் குழுவைப் பற்றி பல அபிப்பிராயங்கள் தெரிவித்தார்கள். என்னைப் பொறுத்த வரையில் இன்று இருக்கும் மந்திரி சபை போன்று மக்களிடத்தில் மதிப்பும் செல்வாக்கும் பெற்ற மந்திரி சபை இதற்கு முன் ஏற்பட்டது இல்லை. இந்த மாகாண சரித்திரத்திலேயே இப்படிப்பட்ட மந்திரி சபை ஏற்பட்டது கிடையாது. ஏற்பட்டிருக்க முடியாது. அப்படிச் சொல்லும்போது நான் யாரையும் புகழ்வோ அல்லது இகழ்வோ இல்லை. மக்கள் மனதிலுள்ள எண்ணத்தைத் தான் சொல்லுகிறேன். மக்கள் கூறுவதைத்தான் நான் கூறுகிறேன். கட்டி மனப்பான்மை இல்லாமலும் விருப்பு வெறுப்பு இல்லாமலும் உண்மை நிலையை கவனிக்கவேண்டும். அதைத்தான் ஒப்புக்கொள்ளவேண்டும். கனம் ராஜாஜி அவர்கள் இந்த மாகாணத்தில் முதல் அமைச்சரான பிறகு

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எவ்வளவோ எதிர்பாராத மாறுதல்கள் ஏற்பட்டன. அதை கனம் அங்கத்தினர்கள் அறிவார்கள். கனம் எம். பி. கோவிந்த மேனன் அவர்கள் குறை கூறுகிறார் என்றால் அவர் உண்மையிலேயே குறை கூறவில்லை. ஆனால், அவர் எதிர்க்கட்சியில் இருப்பதால் அரசாங்கத்தை எதிர்க்கவேண்டும் என்பதற்காகத்தான் அப்படி எதிர்க்கிறார். அவ்விதம் எதிர்த்து தன்னுடைய கடமையைச் செய்வவேண்டும் என்று அவ்விதம் எதிர்த்துப் பேசி வருகிறார். ஆனால், உண்மையில் அவருடைய மனதைக் கேட்டால் ராஜாஜி அவர்கள் இந்த மாகாண முதல் அமைச்சராக வந்த பிறகு இந்த மாகாணத்தில் ஏற்பட்ட மாறுதல்களை மற்ற மாகாணங்களும் பின்பற்றி வருவதை அவர் நன்றாக ஒப்புக்கொள்ளுவார். அப்படி ஒப்புக் கொள்ளத்தான் வேண்டும். மக்களில் நூறுக்கு நூறு எதிர்பார்த்த இந்த உணவு பஞ்சத்தை ஒழித்ததற்காக அல்ல. இதை இந்த மாகாணம் மட்டும் அல்ல மற்ற மாகாணங்களும் வரவேற்று பின்பற்றுகிறார்கள். இதற்கு முன் இருந்த மந்திரி சபை இந்த உணவு கட்டுப்பாட்டை எடுக்க எவ்வளவோ முயன்றும் அவர்களால் எடுக்க முடியவில்லை. ஆனால் ராஜாஜி பதவி ஏற்ற பிறகு இதைத் துணிச்சலாகச் செய்திருக்கிறார். அறிவும், ஆற்றலும், தகுதியுமுள்ள தலைவர் ஒருவர் தலைமைப் பதவியில் வந்ததால் தான் பல நன்மைகள் ஏற்பட்டிருக்கின்றன. ராஜாஜி அவர்கள் துணிச்சலாக இந்த உணவு கட்டுப்பாட்டை எடுத்த பிறகு அவரைப் பின்பற்றி மற்ற மாகாணங்களும் இதை எடுக்க முன் வந்து கொண்டிருக்கிறார்கள். இவைகளைச் செய்வதற்கு சக்தியும், தைரியமும், அனுபவமும், துணிச்சலும் வேண்டும். இந்த உணவு பங்கீட்டை எடுத்ததின் மூலம் ஒரு துணிச்சலான காரியத்தைச் செய்திருக்கிறார். இதை இந்தியா முழுவதும் பாராட்டுகிறது. இதை மத்திய அரசாங்கமும் ஏற்றுக் கொண்டிருக்கிறது.

“ அடுத்தபடியாக இன்னும் பல மாறுதல்களைச் செய்திருக்கிறார். அதையும் எல்லோரும் வரவேற்கிறார்கள். தஞ்சை ஜில்லா எப்படி இருந்தது, இந்த மந்திரி சபை வருவதற்கு முன்? தஞ்சை ஜில்லா ஒரு ஸ்டாலின்கிராட் ஆகவும், தெலுங்காணுவாகவும் மாறக்கூடிய நிலையில் இருந்தது. அரசியல் உலகத்தில் என்ன நிலைமை ஏற்படுமோ என்று எண்ணிக்கொண்டிருக்கும் காலத்தில் போலீஸ் உதவி இல்லாது, ராணுவ உதவி இல்லாது ஒரு அமைதியான நிலைமைக்குக் கொண்டு வந்தார். உண்மையாக உழைப்பவனுக்கு என்ன கிடைக்க வேண்டுமோ அதைக் கொடுக்கும்படி வழி காட்டினார். அவ்விதம் வழி காட்டி அங்கு செங்கோலை நிலை நாட்டினார். இப்பொழுது எந்த நிலைக்கு வந்திருக்கிறது என்பது நமக்குத் தெரியும். நாம் பார்த்திருக்கிறோம்.

“ அடுத்தபடியாக புதிய கல்வி திட்டத்தைப்பற்றி பல அங்கத்தினர்கள் பேசினார்கள். அதைப்பற்றி வெளியிலும் பேசுகிறார்கள். இந்தப் புதிய கல்வி திட்டத்தை சாதாரணமாக ஒரு திட்டமா என்றும் கேட்கப்படுகிறது. இது ஒரு புரட்சிகரமான திட்டம் என்றும் பேசப்படுகிறது. இதை சிந்தித்துப் பார்க்கவேண்டும். நூற்றுக்கு 48 பிள்ளைகள் பள்ளிக்கூடங்களுக்குப் போகும் போது நூற்றுக்கு நூறு பிள்ளைகள் பள்ளிக்கூடங்களுக்குப் போகவேண்டும் என்று திட்டம் கொண்டு வந்தால் அது ஒரு புரட்சிகரமான திட்டம் என்று சொல்லக்கூடாதா! இது ஒரு திட்டமே இல்லையென்றும் குறை கூறப்படுகிறது. அதற்கு காரணமும் கூறப்படுகிறது. அதை ஒப்புக்கொள்ள முடியாது. அது மட்டுமல்ல, 48 பிள்ளைகளுக்கு செலவழிக்கும் செலவிலேயே நூற்றுக்கு நூறு பிள்ளைகளுக்கு கல்வி கொடுக்க முயற்சி செய்தால் அது ஒரு புரட்சிகரமானது அல்லவா? அதைவிட வேறு எந்த திட்டம் புரட்சிகரமானது? வேறு எந்த திட்டம் புரட்சிகரமானதாக இருக்க முடியும்? ஆனால் ஒரு குறை சொல்லப்படுகிறது. புதிய கல்வித் திட்டம் வந்த பிறகு பிள்ளைகள் வேறு பள்ளிக்கூடங்களுக்குப் போகிறார்கள் என்று சொல்லப்படுகிறது. அதை நான் வரவேற்கிறேன். பள்ளிக்கூடங்களுக்கே போவது இல்லை என்று சொல்லாமல் ஏதாவதும் பள்ளிக்கூடங்களுக்குச் செல்லுகிறார்கள் என்றால் அது நல்லது அல்லவா? அதனால் இந்தத் திட்டம் நியாயமானது அல்ல என்று ஒரு முடிவுக்கு வரமுடியாது. இப்பொழுது பார்த்தால் எவ்வளவோ பேர்கள் குடிக்கிறார்கள் என்றால் மதுவிலக்கு திட்டம் நியாயமானது இல்லை என்று

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சொல்ல முடியுமா? சரித்திரம் கூறுகிறது. வேறு பள்ளிக்கூடங்களுக்குப் போகிறார்கள் என்றால் அதற்கு எப்படி எதிர்ப்பு இருக்கமுடியும்? ஆனால், மக்களிடத்தில் இந்தத் திட்டத்தைப்பற்றி தவறாக பயமுறுத்தப்படுகிறது. இந்த திட்டத்தை நன்றாக ஆராய்ந்து அறியவேண்டும். ஐந்து மணி நேரத்தில் கொடுக்கக்கூடிய கல்வியை மூன்று மணி நேரத்தில் கொடுக்க முடியும் என்று சொல்லப்படுகிறது. அவ்விதம் இருந்தால் அது ஒரு புரட்சிகரமான திட்டமாக இல்லாமல் எப்படி இருக்கமுடியும். இப்பொழுது பிள்ளைகளின் எண்ணிக்கை உயரவில்லை என்று சொல்லுகிறார்கள். இப்பொழுது ஐந்து வகுப்புகளுக்கு மூன்று உபாத்தியாயர்கள் கல்வி சொல்லிக்கொடுக்கிறார்கள். அப்பொழுது 40, 80 பிள்ளைகளுக்கு கல்வி சொல்லிக்கொடுப்பதற்கு பதிலாக புதிய கல்வித் திட்டப்படி ஒரு உபாத்தியாயர் 20 அல்லது 25 பிள்ளைகளுக்கு ஒரு வகுப்பில் சொல்லிக்கொடுக்கக் கூடியதாக இருக்கிறது. இவ்விதம் இருந்தால் கல்வி தரம் உயராதா? இவ்விதம் குறைந்த பிள்ளைகளை வைத்துக்கொண்டு கல்வி சொல்லிக்கொடுத்தால் தரம் உயரும் அல்லவா? பிள்ளைகளின்மேல் அதிக கவனம் செலுத்தமுடியும் அல்லவா? இதை சிந்தித்து பார்க்கவேண்டும். இந்தத் திட்டப்படி குழந்தைகளை ஆசிரியர்கள் நன்கு கவனித்து அவர் பளுவை குறைக்க உதவுகிறது.

“மற்றொரு பக்கத்தில் ஜாதி வெறியையும் ஜாதி துவேஷத்தையும் இந்த திட்டத்தில் சிளப்பிவிடப்பட்டிருக்கிறது. இந்த திட்டம் வந்த பிறகு இந்த திட்டத்தை எதிர்ப்பதற்காக ஜாதி துவேஷத்தை சிளப்புகிறார்கள். அதனால் இந்த திட்டத்தை கைவிட வேண்டும் என்றும் கூறப்படுகிறது. இந்த மாகாணத்தில் இந்த ஜாதி வெறி இப்பொழுது சிளம்பியது இல்லை. அது ஏற்கெனவே சிளம்பி மடிந்து போய்விட்டது. இப்பொழுது அது வேறு ரூபத்தில் மற்றொரு போர்வைக்குள் சிளம்பி இருக்கிறது. இந்த ஜாதி வெறி இப்பொழுது சிளம்பியது அல்ல. இந்த ஜாதி வெறி யாரால் சிளப்பப்பட்டதோ அந்தத் தலைவர்கள் வெளியேறி விட்டார்கள். அவர்கள் போன பிறகு அது செத்துப்போய் விட்டது. அது செத்துப்போயும் இறப்பதற்கு மனம் வரவில்லை. எந்த சந்தர்ப்பம் வந்தாலும் அந்த சந்தர்ப்பத்தை வைத்துக்கொண்டு அது மறுபடியும் சிளம்பிக்கொண்டு வருகிறது. இந்த திட்டம் போய்விட்டால் அந்த ஜாதி வெறி போய்விடுமா? இது ஒரு முற்போக்குத்திட்டமாக இருப்பதால்தான் இது ஒரு புரட்சிகரமான திட்டமாக இருக்கிறது. இந்தத் திட்டத்தில் நன்மை இல்லையானாலுமேனு எந்தத் திட்டத்தில் இருக்கிறது? முப்பது வருஷமாக இல்லாத நிலை இப்பொழுது என்ன ஏற்பட்டிருக்கிறது? இந்த திட்டத்தில் நன்மை இல்லையென்றால் அது துவேஷத்திற்காக தான் சொல்ல வேண்டும். ஆனால், அரசியல் உண்மை அதுவல்ல. இதை சிந்தித்துப் பார்க்கவேண்டும். இந்த புதிய கல்வித்திட்டம் ஒரு புரட்சிகரமான திட்டம் இல்லையென்றால் அதற்கு என் இவ்வளவு எதிர்ப்பு? அதிலிருந்த இது ஒரு புரட்சிகரமான திட்டம் என்று தெரியவில்லையா? ஒரு அடிப்படை மாறுதல் இருந்தால் அது ஒரு புரட்சிகரமான திட்டம் இல்லையா? இது ஆதாரக் கல்விக்கு ஒரு மூலாதார திட்டம். ஒரு புரட்சிகரமான திட்டம். முற்போக்கான திட்டம். மக்களை தூய்ம்படுத்தும் திட்டம். இதை வரவேற்கவில்லையானால் இந்த திட்டத்தை ஒப்புக்கொள்ளவில்லையானால் அதற்கு திருத்தங்கள் கொடுக்கலாம். திருத்தங்கள் வேண்டுமென்றால் கொடுத்துக்கொள்ளலாம். காந்திய அடிப்படையிலுள்ள ஆதாரக் கல்வியை ஆதரிக்கும் தலைவர்கள் இந்த திட்டத்தை எதிர்ப்பதற்கு என்ன காரணம் இருக்கிறது. அது வியப்பாக இருக்கிறது. ஆதாரக் கல்விக்கு இது ஒரு துவக்கம். இதன் முடிவு ஆதாரக் கல்வியில் போய்விடும். இது ஒரு காந்திய அடிப்படைக் கல்வி. இதில் ஆரம்பித்தால்தான் ஆதாரக் கல்வியில் போய்முடியும். இது ஒரு முக்கியமான விஷயம்.

“மற்றொரு விஷயம். லைப்ரரி இயக்கம் இந்த நாட்டில் சரியாக நடைபெறவில்லை. ஏனென்றால், சில தவறான புத்தகங்கள் மக்கள் ஒழுக்கத்தைக் கெடுக்கக்கூடியனவாக இருக்கின்றன. எல்லோரும் எழுதப் படிக்கப் கற்றுக்கொள்ள வேண்டும் என்ற கொள்கையை அனைவரும் ஒப்புக் கொள்ளுகிறோம். ஆனால், அவர்கள் ஒரு ஆரம்பக் கல்வியையாவது பூராவாக எழுதப் படிக்கத் தெரிந்துகொண்டபடியால், முன்னால் எவ்வளவு

2nd January 1954]. [Sri M. P. Sivagnana Gramani]

நல்ல நூல்களைப் பார்த்தாலும் படிக்காமல் இருந்து விடுவது நல்லதோ என்று எண்ணக்கூடிய அளவுக்கு ஒழுக்கத்தைக் கெடுக்கும் நூல்கள் வெளி வருகின்றன.

“தமிழ் நாட்டைப் பொறுத்தவரையில் ஏட்டுக் கல்வியென்றால் அது ஒழுக்கக் கல்வியாகத்தான் இருந்தது. உத்தியோகக் கல்வியாகவோ, தொழிற் கல்வியாகவோ இருந்ததில்லை. ஏட்டுக் கல்விக்கும் ஒழுக்கக்கல்விக்கும் போட்டி கிடையாது. தமிழ் எழுதப் படிக்கத் தெரிந்து கொண்ட மக்கள் காம வெறி, ஜாதி வெறியை வளர்க்கின்ற, மனிதனைப் பாதிக்கக்கூடிய வெறியை வளர்க்கும் நூல்கள் மக்கள் முன்னே குவிக்கின்றன. இதைத் தடுப்பதற்கு சர்வாதிகார நாடா நம்முடைய நாடு? நம்முடைய நாடு ஜனநாயக நாடு. இங்கு எழுத்துரிமை, பேச்சுரிமை எல்லாம் உண்டு. ஆகவே, ஆக்க வேலையில் ஈடுபடவேண்டும். மக்கள் நல்வழிக்கு வரவேண்டுமானால், நல்லநூல்களை அவர்கள் அதிகம் படிக்கவேண்டும். இதற்கு லேப்ரரி இயக்கத்தைத் தவிர வேறு ஒரு சாதனம் இருப்பதாகத் தெரியவில்லை. லேப்ரரி இயக்கம் நல்ல முறையில் வளர்ச்சியடைய வேண்டுமானால், மக்களுடைய வீட்டைத் தேடிக்கொண்டு போய், நல்ல நூல்களைக் கொடுக்கக் கூடிய அளவுக்கு இயங்கும் லேப்ரரிகளை நாட்டில் வளர்க்க வேண்டும். அப்படி வளர்த்துவிட்டால், மக்களுக்குத் தேவையற்ற மற்ற நூல்களைப் படிப்பதற்கு நேரம் இருக்காது. அவர்கள் நல்ல நூல்களைப் படிப்பதற்கான இம்மாதிரி வசதியை ஏற்படுத்திக் கொடுத்துவிட்டால், அவர்கள் அறிவு நல்ல முறையில் வளர்ச்சியடையும். ஒழுக்கத்தைக் கெடுக்கும்படியான நூல்களைப் படிப்பதற்கு எண்ணமோ, நேரமோ இல்லாமல் போய்விடும்.

“தரதிஷ்டவசமாக, இந்த லேப்ரரி கமிட்டியில் நானும் ஒரு அங்கத்தினராக இருக்கிறேன். இந்தக் கமிட்டிக்கு சர்க்கார் தரப்பில் நியமிக்கப்பட வேண்டிய அங்கத்தினர்கள் 8 மாதங்களாக நியமிக்கப்படாததால் கமிட்டி வேலை செய்யாமல் தேங்கிக் கிடக்கிறது.

“கார்ப்பரேஷன், சொத்து வரி விதிப்பதைத் தவிர, லேப்ரரி செஸ் என்று தனியாக ஒரு வரியை வசூலித்து வருகிறார்கள். லேப்ரரி செஸ்வின் மூலம் வருஷத்திற்கு மூன்று லக்ஷ ரூபாய் வரையில் கார்ப்பரேஷனுக்கு கிடைக்கிறது. சென்ற மூன்று வருஷ காலத்தில் 9 லக்ஷ ரூபாய் வரையில் வசூல் செய்யப்பட்டு அப்படியே ரிசர்வ் நிதியில் தேங்கிக் கிடக்கிறது. லேப்ரரி செஸ் என்ற பெயரால் வசூல் செய்தது தவிர, கார்ப்பரேஷன் வசூலிக்கும் பொது நிதியிலிருந்து அந்த நூல்நிலைய இயக்கத்திற்கான ஒரு லக்ஷ ரூபாய் ஒதுக்கியிருக்கிறார்கள். ஆகவே, சென்னை நகரைப் பொறுத்தவரையில், ஜனங்களிடமிருந்து லேப்ரரி செஸ் என்ற ஒரு வரியையும் கார்ப்பரேஷன் மறைமுகமாக வசூலித்து வருகிறார்கள். ஆகவே, இந்தத் தேங்கிக் கிடங்கும் 9 லக்ஷ ரூபாயை வைத்துக்கொண்டு நிரந்தரமான நூல் நிலையக்கமிட்டி யொன்றை அமைத்து, லேப்ரரி இயக்கம் வளரும்படியான காரியத்தைச் செய்திருக்க வேண்டும். அப்படி ஒன்றும் செய்யப்படவில்லை. சட்டத்தைத் திருத்தம் செய்ய வேண்டியிருக்கிறது. கல்வி இலாகா அதிகாரி ஒருவரை கமிட்டியின் செயலாளராக வைத்திருக்கிறார்கள். கல்வி இலாகா அதிகாரியானவர் அரசாங்கத்தின் ஆணைப்படி நடக்கிறாரெய்யாழிய, ஜனநாயக ரீதியாக கமிட்டியின் முடிவுக்கு கட்டுப்பட முடிவதில்லை. லேப்ரரி கமிட்டியின் தலைவர் எப்படி அங்கத்தினர்களால் தேர்ந்தெடுக்கப்படுகிறாரோ, அதேமாதிரி கமிட்டியின் செயலாளரும் கமிட்டி அங்கத்தினர்களால் தேர்ந்தெடுக்கப்பட்டு, அந்தக் கமிட்டி சுதந்திரமாக இயங்கவேண்டும். அந்த அளவுக்கு லேப்ரரி சட்டத்தைத் திருத்த வேண்டியது அவசியம் என்று நான் அனுபவ ரீதியாகச் சொல்லுகின்றேன். லேப்ரரி சட்டம் வந்துமூன்று வருஷம் கடந்து விட்ட பிறகும், இந்தக் கமிட்டி ஆரம்ப வேலையைக்கூட செய்யவில்லை. சரியான முறையில் லேப்ரரிகள் துவங்கப்படவில்லையென்றால், அதற்குக் காரணம் சட்டத்தில் இருக்கக்கூடிய குறைபாடு என்று நம்புகின்றேன்.

“விற்பனை வரியைப்பற்றி பலர் பேசினார்கள். இந்த விற்பனை வரி ரூபாய்க்கு ஒரு தம்படி என்று கொண்டு வந்தபோது ஏற்பட்ட கூச்சலைப் பார்த்திருந்தால், கல்வித்திட்டத்திற்கு இன்றைக்கு இருக்கிற எதிர்ப்பைவிட

[Sri M. P. Sivagnana Gramani] [2nd January 1954]

100-க்கு 100 அதிகமான எதிர்ப்பு இருந்தது. ரூபாய்க்கு ஒரு தம்படியிலி ருந்து மூன்று தம்படி வரையில் விற்பனை வரியானது வளர்ந்தபோது எல் லோரும் சும்மா இருந்தார்கள். அரசாங்கத்தின் அதிர்ஷ்டம் ராஜாஜி இல் லாமல் போனது. ராஜாஜி இருந்திருந்தால் ரூபாய்க்கு 3 தம்படி வரை விற்பனை வரியை வளர விட்டிருக்கமாட்டார். மூன்று தம்படி வரையில் வளர விட்டுவிட்டு, இப்பொழுது குறைக்க வேண்டுமென்று சொல்லுகிறார்கள்*

“பத்திரிகைகளில் பார்க்கிறேன். குறை சொல்வோரின் சொற்பொழிவு களையும், பத்திரிகைகளின் தலையங்கங்களையும் பார்க்கிறேன். சாமான்ய மக்களும் புரிந்து கொள்ள முடியாத அளவுக்கு ஒன்றுக்கொன்று முரகை இருக்கின்றது. உற்பத்தி செய்வோர், மொத்த வியாபாரி, சில்லரை வியா பாரி, பொருளை வாங்குவோர் என்று நான்கு தரப்பினர் இதில் ஈடுபடு கிறார்கள். நான்கு தரப்பினர்களில் உற்பத்தியாளர்களை இந்த விற்பனை வரி எந்த அளவுக்கு பாதிக்கிறது, எந்த அளவு அவர்களுக்கு நிவாரணம் தேவை; மொத்த வியாபாரிகளை எந்த அளவு பாதிக்கிறது, எந்த அளவு நிவாரணம் தேவை; சில்லரை வியாபாரியை எந்த அளவு பாதிக்கிறது, எந்த அளவு நிவாரணம் தேவை; எல்லாவற்றையும் விட துரதிருஷ்ட வசமாக இருக்கிற வாங்குவோர்களை எந்த அளவு பாதிக்கிறது, அவர்களுக்கு எந்த அளவு நிவாரணம் தேவை என்பதைப் பார்க்க வேண்டும்.

“என்னைப் பொறுத்த வரையில், வாங்குவோரைப் பற்றி பரிதாபம் காட்டி, அவர்களுக்கு நிவாரணம் அளிப்பதற்கு வழி தேடவேண்டும். அது தான் மகிழ்ச்சிக்கூறியது. வாங்குவோருக்கு இருக்கும் குறைகளை வைத்துக் கொண்டு, மேலே இருக்கிறவர்கள் பயன்படுத்திக்கொள்பவர்கள்தான் சர்க் காரையும் பொது மக்களையும் ஏமாற்றுகிறவர்கள். இந்த முடிவுக்குத்தான் வர முடிகிறது. இந்த நிலை மாற்றப்பட வேண்டியதவசியம்.

“மத்திய அரசாங்கத்துக்கும், மாகாண அரசாங்கத்துக்கும் உள்ள வரி விதிப்பு அதிகாரங்கள் மாற்றம் அடையவேண்டும். அதிகாரத்தை அவர்கள் கையில் வைத்துக்கொண்டு, மேலேயிருந்து தானம் வழங்குவதை நெடு நாளைக்கு கையேந்திக் கொண்டிருக்க முடியாது. நிரந்தரமான வரி போடுகின்ற உரிமை நமக்கு மாற்றம் செய்யப்படவேண்டும். சில பகுதிகள் தானமாகக் கொடுப்பது என்பது கூடாது. வரி இனங்கள் மாற்றப்பட வேண்டும்.

“ராஜாஜி அல்ல, மகாத்மா காந்தியே இந்த மாகாணத்தின் முத லமைச்சராக வந்தாலும் நல்ல பெயர் எடுத்திருக்க முடியாது.

“மாகாணத்திற்கு வரி விதிக்கும் அதிகாரமெல்லாம் வழங்கப்பட வேண்டும். அப்பொழுதுதான் மாகாணத்தின் பொருளாதார நிலை வளர்ச்சியடைய முடியும். மாகாணத்தின் பொருளாதார நிலை வளர்ச்சி யடைந்தால்தான் மக்களுக்கான காரியங்களைச் செய்ய முடியும். ஆகவே மேல் தரப்புக்கு வரும் கிடைக்கும் பொக்கிஷத்திலிருந்து மாகாணத்திற்கு கிடைக்க வேண்டிய வரி இனங்கள் இருக்கின்றன. குடியரசுச் சட்டத்தை மாற்றுவதற்கு சந்தர்ப்பம் ஏற்பட்டிருக்கிற நிலையில் மத்திய ஆட்சியில் செல்வாக்கு உள்ள ஒருவர் இங்கு இருக்கின்றார்; இருப்பார் என்ற நம்பிக் கையில் சொல்கிறேன். இந்த மத்திய சர்க்கார் குடியரசுச் சட்டத்தை பொக்கிஷ விஷயங்களைப் பற்றி மாற்றம் செய்கின்றபோது விற்பனை வரி மாகாண சர்க்காரிலிருந்து மத்திய சர்க்காருக்கு மாற்றப்படவேண்டு மென்ற கொள்கை எனக்குப் புரியவில்லை. பாவம் ஓரிடத்தில், பழி ஓரிடத் தில், பங்கிட்டுக் கொள்வது இன்னொரு இடத்தில். பல எதிர்ப்புகளிடையே விற்பனை வரியைக் கொண்டு வந்து, இப்பொழுது மாகாண சர்க்காருக்கு எதோ வருமானம் வந்து கொண்டிருக்கும் இந்தச் சமயத்தில் இதை மத்திய சர்க்காருக்கு மாற்றவேண்டுமென்று சொல்லப்படுவது எனக்குப் புரியவில்லை. ஆகவே, நேர்முகமாக வரி விதிப்பதற்கான அதிகாரங்கள் மாகாண சர்க்காருக்கு மாற்றப்படவேண்டும்.

2nd January 1954] [Sri M. P. Sivagnana Gramani]

“ உழவர்களுக்கு கடன் நிவாரணமாக, கடன் வாய்தா அவசரச் சட்டம் இப்பொழுது வந்திருக்கிறது. கடன் இனிக் கொடுக்கமாட்டார்களே என்று சில பேருக்கு ஒரு அனுதாபம். முதலில் கவனிக்க வேண்டியதை விட்டு விட்டு, இரண்டாவது கவனிக்க வேண்டிய விஷயத்தை முன்னே கொண்டு வருவது ராஜ தந்திரமோ என்னமோ? முதலில் இங்கே ஏற்கனவே கடன் வாங்கிவிட்டு கஷ்டப்படுகிறோனே, அவனுக்கு வழி என்ன என்பதை எண்ண மல் இனி கடன் வாங்குவதற்கு என்ன வழி என்று கேட்பது எவ்வளவு சாமர்த்தியமான வாதம்? கிராமங்களில் பார்க்கிறோம். கடன் வாங்கி விட்டவன் கஷ்டப்படுகிறான். அப்பேர்ப்பட்ட சமயத்தில் இந்தக் கடன் வாய்தா அவசரச் சட்டம் வந்திருக்கிறது.

“ பெய்யாத வானம் பெய்தது இந்த ஆட்சியில். வானத்தையும் பயன்படுத்த வேண்டுமானால் கடன் குறுக்கே வந்து தடுக்கிறது. ‘கடன் பட்டா’ நெஞ்சம் போல் கலங்கினான் இலங்கை வேந்தன்’ என்று கம்ப ராமாயணத்தில் வருகிறது. இதை நம்முடைய முதலமைச்சர் அவர்கள் இவ்வளவு ஞாபகம் வைத்துக் கொண்டு இருப்பதற்காக மகிழ்ச்சியடைகிறேன்.

“ வானம் பெய்தவுடன் அடுத்து வருவது கடன் காரர்கள் தொல்லை. இந்த நிலை தெரிந்து உழவர் மக்கள் கூட சிந்திக்காத நிலைமையில் இந்தக் கடன் வாய்தா அவசரச் சட்டத்தைக் கொண்டு வந்திருக்கிற ராஜாஜி அவர்கள். கொடுக்கும் வசதியிருந்தால் இடையிலே கொடுத்துவிடுவதற்குத் தடை எதுவுமில்லை இந்தச் சட்டத்தினால். ஆனால், வக்கீல்கள் ஆட்சேபிக்கிறார்கள். நியாயம் தானே! அவர்கள் கூட ஆட்சேபிக்காவிட்டால் சமூகத்தில் ஏற்றத்தாழ்வு இருப்பது எப்படித் தெரியும்? சமூகத்தில் பொருளாதார ஏற்றத்தாழ்வு இருக்கிறது. இதை மாற்ற வேண்டிய நிலை இருப்பதனாலேயே இந்த அவசரச் சட்டம் தேவையாக இருக்கிறது. விவசாயிகள் பல வருஷங்களாகக் கஷ்டப்பட்டு வந்திருக்கிறார்கள். அவர்களுடைய பொருளாதாரம் கடனை இப்பொழுது திருப்பிக்கொடுக்கக்கூடிய நிலையில் இல்லாமலிருப்பதனால்தான் இந்த அவசரச் சட்டம் வந்திருக்கிறது. ஆகவே சமூகத்தில் பொருளாதார ஏற்றத்தாழ்வு இருப்பதைக் காட்டிக்கொண்டே இருப்பதற்கேனும் வக்கீல்கள் வேண்டியிருக்கிறது. வக்கீல் அங்கத்தினர்கள் தவறாக எண்ணக்கூடாது. உண்மையைத் தான் சொல்லுகின்றேன். (Interruption by Sri K. Balasubramania Ayyar.)

“ ஆட்சியாளர் இந்த முறையில் இந்தத் திட்டத்தைக் கொண்டுவந்தால், தேர்தலைப்பற்றி நினைப்பாடுகிறார்கள். ஜாக்கிரதையாக இருக்கவேண்டும். மந்திரிசபை என்றால் தேர்தலில் காங்கிரசு ஜெயிக்கவேண்டுமென்று கட்சிக்காகவே சொல்லுகிறேன், வேறு யாரையும் குறைத்துச் சொல்லவில்லை என்ற முறையில் பேசப்படுகிறது. தேர்தலில் ஜெயிப்பது தான் மந்திரிசபையின் கண்ணோட்டம், அல்லது முதல் குறிக்கோள் என்றால் அந்த மந்திரிசபை நாட்டை ஆளுவதற்கே லாயக்கற்றது. என்னன்றால், மக்கள் சார்பாக ஒரு மந்திரிசபை அமையமுடியுமானால் மக்களுடைய கஷ்டங்களை அனுசரிப்பார்கள். அந்த மந்திரி சபையின் மீது முதலில் மக்கள் நம்பிக்கை வைக்கவேண்டும். அதோடு சேர்ந்து கட்சியின் வெற்றியும் பிணையவேண்டும்.

“ 100-கு 80 பேர்கள் படிக்கத்தெரியாத மக்கள் தாம். படித்திருந்தாலும் தமிழில் ஆட்சி நடத்த முடியாத அவல நிலை இருக்கிறது. நாட்டிலே மக்கள் ஆட்சி நடைபெறவேண்டுமானால், மக்கள் பேசும் மொழியிலே ஆட்சி நடைபெறவேண்டும். படித்த மக்களைத்தவிர வேறு சாமான்ய மக்கள் வரவேற்பார்கள் என்று எப்படிச் சொல்ல முடியும்? அமைச்சர் தேர்தலுக்கு முன் கல்வித்திட்டம் இல்லை. பிடிவாதக்கார ராஜாஜி முதல் மந்திரியாக இல்லை. ஏன் தோற்றது? ஏன் பலனீனம் ஏற்பட்டது? வெற்றிக்கும் தோல்விக்கும் வேறு ஏதோ காரணங்கள் இருக்கின்றன அரசியில் உலகத்தில் என்பதை மறக்கக்கூடாது.

“ திருவாளர் கஜபதி நாயகர் அவர்கள் மொழிப் பிரச்சினையைக் கொண்டுவந்தார். இதற்கென ஒரு மசோதா பின்னே வருகிறது. விவாதம் அப்பொழுது இருக்கும் ஆகவே, இது விஷயத்தைப்பற்றி அப்பொழுது விவரமாகப் பேசிக்கொள்ளலாம்.

[Sri M. P. Sivagnana Gramani] [2nd January 1954]

“இத்தனை காலம் ஆங்கிலம் பேசிய அவர்கள் கூட என்னுடன் சேர்ந்து தமிழில் பேசுவதற்கு முன்வந்திருப்பதைக் கண்டு மங்கள வாழ்த்துக் கூறுகின்றேன். கட்சித் தலைவர் உட்பட எதிர்க் கட்சியிலுள்ளவர்கள் எல்லோரும் இப்படி வந்து விட்டால், நிதி அமைச்சர் அவர்கள் நெடு நாளைக்கு சொல்லிக்கொண்டிருக்க முடியாது. கட்டாயம் நிதி அமைச்சர் அவர்கள் மாற்றிக் கொள்ளவேண்டும். கண்டைப் பகுதியாருக்கும், கேரளப் பகுதியாருக்கும் நல்ல எண்ணம் காட்டி, இடைக்காலத்தில் மாறுதல் ஏற்படக் கூடாது என்ற முறையில் அவர் சொல்லுகிறார். இந்த நிலை ஏற்பட்டு நிதி அமைச்சர் நல்லெண்ணத்தை அவர் தாய்மொழி பற்றிய பிரச்சனையில் உண்மையிலேயே குடு இல்லாமல் குளிர்ந்த வார்த்தைகளைக் கூறியதற்கு மகிழ்ச்சி அடைகிறேன். சிறுபான்மையோருக்கு நல்லெண்ணம் காட்டுவதற்கு பொருத்திருக்கவேண்டுமா? இதே நல்லெண்ணத்தை ஆங்கிலம் படித்த அரசியல் மேதைகளும் ஆங்கிலம் தெரியாத தாய் மொழியில் பேசக்கூடியவர்களுக்கும் காட்டவேண்டும் என்பதுதான் என்னுடைய வேண்டுகோள். மொழிக்கு மொழி போட்டியில், தமிழர்களுக்கு நியாயம் வழங்கவேண்டும். வேறு எந்தத் தடையும் இல்லாமல் தமிழர்கள் தங்கள் கருத்துகளை வெளியிடுவதற்கு வழி இருக்கிறதா என்றால், உண்மைய சதந்திர நாட்டில் இல்லை. ஒருவனுடைய வளர்ச்சி, வாழ்வு, உயர்வு எல்லாம் தமிழின மூலமாகத்தான் இருக்கவேண்டும். அதற்குத் தடையாக இருக்கிறது என்பதையும் கவனிக்கவேண்டும்.

“எங்கள் மீது நல்லெண்ணம் காட்டுவதற்கு குறைந்தபட்சம் வரவு செலவுத்திட்ட சொற்பொழிவு தமிழிலும் கொண்டுவந்திருக்கலாம். ஆங்கிலத்தில் கொண்டுவர வேண்டாமென்று நான் சொல்லவில்லை. அங்கத்தினர்களுக்கு ஆங்கிலத்தில் பட்ஜெட் பிரச்சுக் அச்சடித்துக் கொடுக்கப்படுவதுடன், தமிழிலும் அச்சடித்தோ, அல்லது டைப் செய்தோ கொடுத்திருக்கலாம். பட்ஜெட் பிரச்சுக் நிகழ்த்தப்படும்போது மற்றவர்கள் பார்த்துக்கொண்டிருப்பார்கள். இப்படிச் செய்திருந்தால் நல்லெண்ணத்தைக் கொடுத்திருக்கும். இந்த மாறுதலை எங்கேயாவது ஆரம்பித்துவிடவேண்டும். முதல் முதல் எங்கேயாவது துவக்கிவிடவேண்டும். மாறுதல் பிறகு ஏற்பட்டுவிடும். இந்த சந்தர்ப்பத்தைக் கொடுத்த நமது சபைத் தலைவரைப் பாராட்டி, இன்றைக்கு மந்திரிசபை இருக்கிறதா, போகிறதா என்ற ஆராய்ச்சியில் நான் இரங்கவில்லை. இன்றைக்கு இருக்கின்ற மந்திரி சபை இதுவரையில் இருந்த மந்திரிசபைகளைவிட நல்லவைதான், மிக செல்வாக்கும் மக்களிடம் நம்பிக்கையும் உள்ளது. இதைவிட அதிகமான செல்வாக்குள்ள ஒரு மந்திரி சபையை அமைத்திருக்க முடியாது. எதிர்க்கட்சி அமைக்கமுடியுமானால் அதைப்பற்றியும் ஆட்சேபணை இல்லை. இதை மக்கள் தீர்ப்பளித்து விடுவார்கள். இப்பொழுது இருக்கும் முதல் அமைச்சர் இருக்கும்போதே மத்திய சர்க்கார் வரி இனங்களை நம் மாகாணத்திற்கு மாற்றவேண்டும். மாகாண சுயாட்சி அடிப்படையிலான வளர்ச்சி அடையவேண்டும், மிகக்கேவலமான நிலவரி, இத்தகைய விஷயங்கள் சீர்பட்டு வளர்ச்சி பெற்றுவிடும் என்பது என்னுடைய எண்ணம்.

“மாகாணத்தின் செல்வாதார நிலை சரியான அடிப்படையில் அமைக்கப்படவேண்டும். ஏழை மக்களைப் பாதிக்கும்படியான வரிகளை ரத்து செய்யாவிட்டால் பொருளாதாரத்தின் பேரில் அராஜகம் வளர்வதற்கும் இந்த இடத்தில் அபாயம் இருக்கிறது. மாகாணத்தில் ஏழை மக்களுக்கு அதிக வரி விதிப்பு இருப்பதனால் ஏற்படும் அராஜகத்தை தடுக்க, அதற்கான காரியங்களைச் செய்யவேண்டியதவசியம். அதைச் செய்ய சக்திவாய்ந்த ஒருவர் நம்முடைய மாகாணத்தின் முதல் அமைச்சராக இருக்கிறார் என்பதைக் கண்டு மகிழ்ச்சி அடைகிறேன். ஆகையினால், இந்த மசோதாவை வரவேறுகின்றேன்.”

12-30
P.m.

* DR. S. MUTHULAKSHMI REDDI:—“Mr. Chairman, Sir, after listening to the vigorous speech delivered in a loud tone by the hon. Member who preceded me, if hon. Members do not hear me properly I would request them to draw my attention to that so that I can raise my voice and speak.

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" Mr. Chairman, Sir, many hon. Members have spoken in detail about the Budget. I do not therefore want to talk on the same subjects now. But I want to draw the attention of the Government, especially the Government headed by Rajaji, to certain principles on matters relating to women and children that should be taken into consideration by this Government. The women's problem is a human problem. According to the latest census 14.5 per cent of them are widows. Perhaps there are more women who have been deserted and abandoned by their husbands. According to that report some are married and some are unmarried. Because there were large numbers of deserted and abandoned women, we requested the previous Government to establish a Women's Welfare Department to look after the welfare of these women and other unfortunate women without any home and without any amenities of life. That department came into being in 1949 or 1950. It was kept a separate department with a Women Welfare Officer in charge of it. That department has been doing very good work in urban areas as also in villages. Ninety-three centres have been organized in rural areas and they promote literacy, cottage industries, hygiene, mother-craft and child-craft. There are also about 27 centres where maternity assistants are employed. The rural population are very happy in the midst of these women welfare workers. Now there are many such trained workers. In replying to a question this morning the Hon. Minister for Health said that these trained maternity assistants refused to go to the rural areas. On the other hand, I find many are willing to go to the rural areas. There are no posts to which these could be appointed. We applied to the Government to increase the number of posts in these centres. But nothing has been done so far.

" Sir, about three months back we learnt that the post of Women's Welfare Officer was going to be abolished. We presented a memorandum to the Government signed by representative Women's Associations of the State requesting the Government to receive a deputation. We did not want to worry the Government. We wanted to explain to them the women's point of view. I hope hon. Members would remember that it was the Women's Indian Association that secured political and civic rights for women and it was this State that first passed a resolution to grant votes for women. It may be presumed by all that the Women's Indian Association in the Madras City is a long-standing one and has done good service. There are many experienced women in that association. Not only this association but many others signed and submitted a memorandum to Government. I also learnt that the memorandum reached the Government. We had requested the Government that a deputation of women might be received by the Hon. the Chief Minister. We have not received any reply to that memorandum. In that memorandum we had referred to many subjects such as women's welfare, maternity, child welfare centres, vigilance homes, the Children's Aid Society and so on. In fact we wanted to offer

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our suggestions in regard to the administration of laws relating to children and women. But no opportunity was given to us to do this. In this connexion I would remind the hon. Members of this House that there are in the City more women voters than men. But the women of Madras are not able to impress upon the Government their individuality for the reason that they are not only backward in education but a majority of them are very backward in their economic status having to depend upon men so far as their economic status is concerned. To win in elections, and to come to the legislature to influence the legislations passed here, it requires money. But unfortunately, our women have no money, and success in election depends upon the amount of money that one can spend. If public life in this country could be cured of this evil, then alone can women be returned in large numbers or at least in a decent number. During the last elections two women candidates were nominated. One alone could succeed and she had to spend a large amount of money. So I would request hon. Members who have been returned by the large number of women voters to sympathize with the condition of women. Now we too depend upon your vote to provide the amenities that we and our children need.

“Recently I gave notice of a question regarding registration of marriages and it was answered by the Hon. the Law Minister a few days ago. The Hon. Law Minister said that no such legislation was under contemplation and that too when a comprehensive Hindu Code Bill was being discussed by Parliament. From the women's point of view, the Bill that is being discussed in Parliament is a vital Bill. Sir, it was the procedure of the Central Government, even when the British were in power, to send such Bills to the State Governments to elicit their opinion. I believe therefore that this Bill also ought to have been received by our Government for their opinion because I learn that even the Bar Association here received the Bill and has expressed its opinion on the Bill. But the Women's Association in Madras City has not been asked to offer its suggestions on legislations undertaken by this Government, which affect the welfare of women and children. This is a serious defect and I hope this Government while undertaking legislation affecting women and children would certainly consult the Women's Association because we are the people to decide about these matters. While the Government at Delhi send copies of their proposed legislation for our opinion, this Government do not have the courtesy to do so. We have given our opinion on the Hindu Code Bill. I believe this Government also must have given their views on the Bill. When I put a question to the Hon. the Law Minister, he stated in reply on the floor of this House that this Government received no communication from the Central Government asking them to offer their opinion on the Bill. I want to know from the Hon. the Minister for Law whether he is aware of the various clauses of the Hindu Code Bill itself.

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"With regard to women police, the answer that was given by the Hon. the Chief Minister was not at all satisfactory. In the administration of laws relating to women especially the rescue of minors, children and arrest of women offenders, we feel there are competent women in our State whose services could be utilized. It is very necessary that women offenders and women suspects, who are taken into custody or who are taken to Court when their guilt has not been established before a court of law, should be helped and should be taken care of. They should be escorted only by women officers. I do not want that these officers should be designated as women police officers. Let them be merely designated as women welfare workers. There should be one or two such women officers at each police station. Their services may be requisitioned for taking into custody or escorting women offenders because these women offenders have to be in the police station for some time before the case sheets are prepared. The honour of these women must be protected and their safety ensured, when they are under such detention. The provision of such facilities was described by some old minister as 'providing colourful facilities'. Is it a good answer to our just demand, I ask? Again a plea was put forward that money could not be found for this. With a little money one or two women officers could be appointed to look after this work, one by the day and another by the night. Will it be too much for this Government to spend a little money for the safety and dignity of the innocent women?"

"Sir, I am glad that hon. Member Mrs. Clubwala Jadhav, who is a very active worker in the field of women's welfare, has referred to women patrols. The Hon. Law Minister mistook the whole thing. Women patrols are not for roaming about in the night and they are to be at the railway stations where the poor and ignorant girls from upcountry arrive in search of shelter and food and they even come here seeking admission into the several women's institutions in the City. As there are not many women institutions in the mufassal parts, some such girls when they arrive here, are misled by rickshaw-wallahs and evil-minded people who are waiting there to take advantage of their ignorance, and they leave them in the houses of traffickers. Some such cases have come to our knowledge and many a husband, many a father and many a brother of such young girls under 18 years came to us in search of them. These young women are quite ignorant of the conditions prevailing in Madras and they easily fall a prey into the hands of traffickers. It is a great tragedy. Therefore, we must have women patrols, just as we have Women Guides at railway stations. The Government should do whatever is possible in this matter. These are all suggestions coming from us who have been moving intimately with women for all these years.

"About the Children's Aid Society, the Hon. Law Minister said that whenever we send a child there, it would be admitted. The matter is not so easy. Even though we write letters and

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petitions, the child has to be sent only in charge of a policeman and the policeman is ignorant of the provisions of the Children's Act. On one occasion, I called a policeman and asked him to take a child to the Children's Aid Society. He refused to do so by saying, 'who is to pay the bus fare?'

"Sir, we, women, are here not for honour but for doing some service to our country. It is said that women are not competent to hold certain posts. During the last freedom struggle, many of our women took an active part in the *satyagraha* movement. They stood the lathi charges and police terrorism. Sometimes they were taken in a bus to distant places and were left there. In our State, women's education is more advanced than in any other State. We have more women graduates in our State, and Dr. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliyar will testify to that fact. So, for filling up posts like the Head of the Children's Aid Society or the Vigilance Home, the Government should call for applications from women candidates and appoint them. It is not as if women are not good administrators. Sometimes it is very necessary that women alone should perform certain functions. Women are good teachers. In every country it is recognized that women are born teachers. In our State we have got a good number of women teachers. There are nurses in the hospitals to take care of the sick.

"Sir, in Adyar, on the Greenaway Road, a Boys' Home has been started. On that occasion, when I put a question to the Chief Minister that a Girls' Home could also be started, the Chief Minister asked us to wait for some time. On the other hand, we find more girls are in need of homes than boys. I do not say that the boys should be neglected. They must be given equal treatment. After all, these Devasthanam Homes are started by religious heads of temples out of the donations subscribed by both men and women devotees who worship God in the form of a mother. If that is so, I cannot understand why Girls' Homes could not be started out of this subscription. Another reason advanced against the starting of Girls' Homes, by the Devasthanam, is that when the girls grow and attain the age of 16 or 17, they have to be married; hence there is difficulty in starting Home for girls. I am unable to understand these arguments. Sir, after all, marriage should not be the end and aim of a woman's life . . ."

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI:—"Does not the hon. Member try to get her girls married, every one of them if possible? So, what is the good of saying that marriage is not the aim of life when we all feel that it is the aim of life."

DR. S. MUTHULAKSHMI REDDI:—"Sir, it should not be the end. I do not say that they should not marry. But my point is that discrimination should not be shown between boys and girls. As a matter of fact, I know many cases where marriage has produced very unfortunate results. Let the Government look at the large number of married women seeking admissions in our Homes. They are either widows or deserted wives. We must

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make some provision for our girls before we make them marry. What I feel is, that they should be made economically independent. A woman should not only be a wife or a mother but also be a full citizen. That is what I want. They should be educated as much as the boys are educated. They should not depend upon others and if they do so, there is always a risk. When I put the question the other day on the registration of marriages, I wanted that married couples should be compulsorily asked to insure their lives so that the conditions of widows and their children may not be miserable. I know many instances where illiterate widows with a number of children came and sought admissions in our Homes. In some cases they even sell their children. Recently we have read in the papers that children were thrown into wells by the mothers themselves and the mothers also attempted suicide to end their lives. Mothers with children do not find employment. Therefore, Homes for girls are also necessary as for boys. I hope this matter will engage the attention of the Government.

“ Again in the matter of education, the parents do not give equal facilities for education to their boys and girls. Why should the State also make a distinction between boys and girls? In my opinion, girls also should be educated as much as the boys are educated.

“ Sir, I would bless the new Scheme of Elementary Education, if it brings many more girls within its purview. I find from the Education Report of 1951—only this Report is available—that the ratio of boys and girls is 2 : 1 in the primary stage, 5 : 1 in the next higher stage and still less in the university stage. I do not say that every one should get collegiate education. I would be satisfied if primary and secondary education are made available to girls. In any scheme of education, girls' education should be given the first place, because it is believed that the education of women is the education of the whole family.

“ Sir, I congratulate the Government on appointing a woman as the Director of Public Instruction, which is unprecedented in the annals of this State. I also congratulate the Government on promoting four Women Civil Assistant Surgeons as Civil Surgeons.

“ Sir, there are hundreds of midwives who are unemployed, and when I drew the attention of the Hon. Minister for Health to this fact, he said that they should be prepared to go to rural areas. I say, they are willing to go. Some scheme should be drawn up by the Government to give them employment and thus they should be enabled to give maternity aid to women in our villages where there is great need.

“ Sir, some hon. Members said that women have a place only in the home. Even a woman in a home has to attend to the education and the health of her children, cooking of food, cleanliness and other things. For attending to all these things and to be useful at home, she should have proper education. Why not that knowledge and experience that she gains in the home, be

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extended to the larger home, the country? That is what I ask. The nation is only a greater family and she who is serving a family should also have a place in the public life of the country and she should share the duties and responsibilities of public life. That is what some of us feel in this matter.

(Deputy Chairman in Chair.)

12-50 p.m. " Now, I should like to congratulate the Government on the inclusion of a woman in the Cabinet. But, what can one woman do? Prohibition is a very difficult subject and I wish the lady Minister in charge every success. I would also suggest to the Government that, in making such appointments of women to responsible positions, the organized women's association may be taken into their confidence. However, we will all co-operate with her and see that the Prohibition policy proves to be a success. I said last time that educative propaganda was necessary in regard to Prohibition. Dr. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliar in the course of his valuable speech mentioned the evils of drink. These should be included in public health propaganda and the Health Officers should be instructed in this regard. Private organizations should also be requested to carry on prohibition propaganda and the Government could finance them to some extent. One suggestion which I have to make in regard to the enforcement of prohibition is that it should be done, not by the Police, but by volunteer organizations and by persuasion and other ways like educating the people in regard to the evils of drink.

" Another suggestion which I have got to make is that this Government should pay more attention to the preventive side of medicine. We find that only a very small sum has been provided for preventive items like health, education and medical inspection of children, etc. As I have not much time, I wish to conclude my speech by thanking the Deputy Chairman and others for giving me this opportunity to say a few words on this occasion."

* SRI K. BALASUBRAMANYA AYYAR:—" Sir, I am thankful to you for giving me an opportunity to speak at least now on the Appropriation Bill and I think that I cannot but admit that the only appropriate thing that I can do in regard to the Appropriation Bill is not to speak but to vote silently. But, things have taken a different shape as I was not permitted to speak at the time of the general discussion on the Budget on account of various factors. I shall therefore crave your indulgence to permit me to say a few words on this occasion. I shall not be irrelevant and shall try to confine myself only to very important points and refer only to such of those things to which I think I ought to refer in respect of my constituency and the general electorate.

" The first thing that I want to mention is about the concern that I feel for debt charges that have been incurred by our Government. When I look at the Appendix to the Hon. the Finance Minister's Budget Speech, I find that the total of the debt

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charges which are given under four items, comes to nearly Rs. 7½ crores. This is a very large amount. I know very well that the economy of a State is slightly different from the economy of a family or an individual. Still, when we take all factors into consideration, I should feel that this debt charge of Rs. 7½ crores is very heavy. When I look at it a little more carefully, I find that so far as temporary advances are concerned, they come to nearly Rs. 18 crores out of which the terms have not yet been decided in respect of 17 crores of rupees. This, I think, is not quite proper. The terms ought to have been settled by this time. We should have some idea as to what is the rate of interest and within what time it should be repaid. So far as the amount of Rs. 100 lakhs which has been repaid is concerned, the rate of interest is 3½ per cent."

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI:—"Sir, I just want to invite the hon. Member's attention once again to the fact that the unsettled terms need not be a matter of discussion for this reason. The unsettled terms are in respect of our overdraft on the Government of India and we really wish to make a bargain of it. If we begin to settle terms too hastily, we will lose in the transaction."

* SRI K. BALASUBRAMANYA AYYAR:—"Then I need not dilate any more on this point. I was only anxious to point out that these Rs. 17 crores have remained unsettled for some time."

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI:—"We wish it remains so for some more time."

* SRI K. BALASUBRAMANYA AYYAR:—"If so, I shall not say anything more about it. I am glad that the Government is so clever and are going about the business in such an appropriate fashion."

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI:—"The Central Government know our difficulties but they do not want to make any discrimination in regard to our State and that is the difficulty."

* SRI K. BALASUBRAMANYA AYYAR:—"Sir, so far as these 100 lakhs of rupees which have been returned, the rate of interest of 3½ per cent should also have been a matter of bargaining. For a temporary advance a rate of interest of 3½ per cent is too high."

"Ordinarily speaking, when we are acquainted with the transactions of banks, in the case of overdrafts taken by individuals, this rate of interest for a temporary advance must be considered to be a little too high. I think our Government ought to have bargained for 1 or 2 per cent rate of interest. Anyhow, this transaction has been completed and I do not want to take more of the time of the House on this matter."

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" I am glad that the Hon. the Finance Minister has given us a balanced Budget with a surplus of Rs. 23 lakhs. In presenting the Budget, even though the Hon. the Chief Minister was careful to point out that much need not be made of the simple fact that there was a surplus of Rs. 23 lakhs, when we consider the Budget as a whole, we have to take two items into consideration. One is that the Government have been able to make out a balanced Budget so far as capital works are concerned because the public of our State have been very sympathetic and have come forward with subscriptions to the Government loan amounting to nearly six crores and seventeen lakhs of rupees. The second fact is that the Government of India have also come forward with a loan of more than a crore of rupees at present and they may even help our Government more in the future. Our Government should therefore shape their policy taking these two facts into consideration.

" The purchasing power of our people as well as the credit structure of our country should be maintained and it is only when these two factors are kept in view that our State can go to the public for raising loans to the tune of Rs. 6, 7 or even 10 crores. I therefore wish and am anxious to point out that on two matters the Government of Madras should hasten slowly. One is in regard to land reforms. I should point out that all the landholders should be considered to be on the same footing as the true legal system of our country points out, namely, that they are ryotwari proprietors. They are not like zamindars or renters or farmers. They are proprietors of land and they have got as much interest and stake in the land and as much interest in producing as much out of the land as possible, as the cultivating tenant or anybody else. I am therefore anxious to point out that we should maintain the ryotwari proprietor in absolute contentment, happiness and security. Therefore the policy of our Government in this regard should be steady and slow because land reform is talked of in the Five-Year Plan and ceilings and other systems are suggested. We should not introduce any land reform which will create confusion in the country and which will not make the people responsible for increased production. After all, as the Hon. the Chief Minister has pointed out in speech, the most important thing is production and that means intensive cultivation. Apart from these irrigation schemes which are being put into execution for the purpose of bringing more land under cultivation in our country, the most important thing as the Hon. the Chief Minister has pointed out is intensive cultivation of the lands already under cultivation.

1 p.m.

" The two chief things that are required for intensive cultivation are capital and skill. These are supplied as much by the land-owner as by the tenant, and that is what I want to point out to the Government. If we take into consideration the number of ryotwari pattadars who are paying more than Rs. 50 as land revenue, we will find that only a small number of pattadars are paying more than Rs. 50 and that a majority of them are

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paying Rs. 50 and less. I have got with me the figures for the composite State and I find therein that out of four lakhs and odd pattadars three lakhs of them are paying as land revenue less than Rs. 50 and that most of them own five acres and less each. Therefore these pattadars should not be treated as big landlords. It has been suggested in some quarters that an agricultural income-tax should be levied in order to tax the wealth amassed by them. I wish to point out that these pattadars are merely small owners of land carrying on a hand to mouth existence and are as poor as, if not poorer than, tenants. These people should be enabled to take interest in production of more food and in cultivation. When our Government wanted subscriptions for their loans, these land-owners and others gave them more than what the Government wanted, because they did not want the present state of affairs to be disturbed as required by the different political parties preaching different kinds of political ideologies in the State. Therefore nothing should be done to injure them in the name of land reform. As our Hon. the Chief Minister has stated, our State is a poor State. It is much poorer than other States. In fact, I can say it is poorer than even the Andhra State. It has no large natural resources for promoting extensive agriculture as Andhra has its mighty rivers. Our Tamil, Malayalam and Kanarese areas are also devoid of mineral resources. We have got only two effective rivers, the Cauvery and the Tambraparani. There are no other rivers even though our poet Bharathi sang "Thenpennai, Palar. . ." Thenpennai and Palar are not effective rivers. Unless the river Krishna is joined with the River Pennar, the latter will not be of any use. And as regards Palar whenever there are freshes, much damage is caused to irrigation. After the execution of the Amaravathi and other schemes, I am afraid, there will not be enough water in the river Cauvery itself for use in the district of Tanjore. Our Hon. the Chief Minister the other day pointed out that for long the people in the upper regions have been suffering and that the lower riparians can be harmed to some extent to benefit the upper riparians. I am putting the Hon. the Chief Minister's views in a rather crude form. As you know very well, Sir, the district of Tanjore is the only district in our State which is surplus in food. We should be self-sufficient in food and that is the most important problem in our State more than anything else, particularly so when the new Andhra State is not behaving as generously as it ought to towards our State. As we have to depend on Tanjore for feeding the people of the whole State, we have to be very careful in undertaking measures which have a bearing on agriculture or will affect conditions in which agriculture is being carried on in lower riparian areas. I am not against irrigation schemes like the Amaravathi, the lower Bhavani, etc., and people benefiting by them. I do not know how far these projects will affect adversely agricultural conditions in the lower riparian areas. But I know, even now lands which are irrigated by the Mettur canal do not get sufficient supplies of water. I am only trying to point out the need for concentrating on defensive

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agriculture. The Government have to nourish the ordinary ryotwari pattadar or the poor landlord as he is called and that they should not rest content with expending their sympathies on the poor tenants alone. They must expend their sympathies on the poor landowners also who have to bear the burden of paying the land tax to the Government. People are already talking of land reforms. I am only anxious to point out that the Government have to proceed rather slowly on these matters and that is one of the most important things I wanted to mention and I have done with it.

“The next point I wish to touch upon is with regard to reduction of expenditure on public services. I spoke on this subject when we were discussing the Budget on the last occasion, and I am emboldened to raise it again, because the Hon. the Chief Minister has stated that the Government would undertake even things which are unpopular. Otherwise I would have refrained from mentioning this. He stated that he would even effectuate the modified elementary education scheme if it was good for the public. Similarly the expenditure on the public services ought to be reduced in spite of what the affected parties will say and in spite of what those people in charge of these matters will say. Even as early as 1911 the politicians belonging to the liberal school of thought like Shri Ghokale were pointing out to the then alien Government here that they were supporting one of the most top-heavy administrations in the world. Now, our State which is poorest of all the States in our country has to support a very top-heavy administration. I know administration is necessary and also it must be effective. We must not concentrate on mere efficiency of Government servants alone. The Government must also see that they secure their full money's worth from their employees. There is a feeling among certain people that unless they secure a few jobs in Government service, they will not be better off or unless they agitate for that, their lot cannot be bettered. The less we depend upon appointments the better it will be for us. My colleagues should not mistake me as saying that social justice should not be done and that is not my point. Government appointments should be taken up only by those people who are qualified for them. Therefore I request that the Government should appoint a Committee for the purpose of investigating the whole question of the expenditure on the public services and security services. The Hon. the Chief Minister stated that only 32 per cent of the total expenditure was expended on security services like Police, Judiciary, Prisons, etc., and it was less than the pre-war figures. I have not examined the pre-war figures and I must take his figures as correct. Still, I feel that our expenditure on our services is too great for this poor State. I hope and trust that our Government will investigate this matter and see how the number of officers, clerks, etc., can be reduced. Those who have been retrenched can always be given other employments. They can also be given lands under the new irrigation schemes like the Amaravathi, etc. I am making this suggestion because I am most anxious that all efforts should be made to make our State self-sufficient so far as food is

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concerned. Our Hon. the Chief Minister said that much hard and sustained work will have to precede an appreciable increase in the general standard of living.

"The time has come when all of us should turn our eyes to the villages, when all of us should take to cultivation and when all of us should become cultivators. Then alone we could step up our food production and then alone will this State become self-sufficient. Otherwise I am afraid the balanced budget we are having now will dwindle into a melancholy budget (laughter). 1-10 p.m.

"Sir, I shall mention one or two points which I consider important without dilating much upon them.

"The hon. Member Mr. Narayanaswami Pillai mentioned that a sum of Rs. 40 lakhs was left over as balance when the Hindu Religious Endowments were taken over by Government and this had been subsequently absorbed in the general revenues of the State. My friend pleaded for the setting apart of that sum for the definite object of promoting the welfare of those religious institutions. I fully echo his sentiments. What is the state of our temples at the present moment? Can we say with confidence that our temples are now free from any thefts? No, surely the answer is in the negative. The crimes taking place in our temples are on the increase. Very often we find newspapers reporting some crime or other perpetrated in our temples. Stealing of 'idols' which we worship and greatly revere is on the increase. The renovation of the Baskhararajapuram temple near Tiruvadaimarudur was completed recently and Kumbabishekam was performed when the devotees and those who were in charge of the Kumbabishekam ceremony retired to bed after heavy work during the day some miscreants took the opportunity to burgle the temple, remove the sacred idol and knocked off the gems underneath the idol. I suppose hon. Members are aware of the fact that it is the custom among Hindu devotees to put some valuable gems under the idol before it is installed. I do not know whether there is a big organization in this part of our country which encourages such activities or whether conspirators are behind all these, or whether there is a big agitation by some parties for removal of idols. I do not want to refer to anyone in particular. My only idea in referring to these things is to bring them before the Hon. the Minister for Religious Endowments, who is a pious man and one who is very much interested in the proper upkeep of our cultural heritage and in the preservation of our ancient temples which are treasure houses of our ancient arts, so that he might take cognizance of the mischief now taking place in those sacred institutions and do the needful to put an end to those crimes. I leave it to the good sense of the Hon. Minister in charge of Religious Endowments and the Hon. the Chief Minister as to how best they could put an end to the crimes that are now taking place in our temples and as to how best they would maintain our temples in proper condition. I am referring—rather I should say I am constrained to refer—to these things because crimes have become frequent."

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THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI:—"Not so frequent."

* SRI K. BALASUBRAMANYA AYYAR:—"They have become frequent."

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI:—"There have been crimes. But let us not do propaganda for the criminals."

* SRI K. BALASUBRAMANYA AYYAR:—"But I have to bring it to the notice of the Government so that they might take action to prevent any future occurrence."

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI:—"I would like the hon. Member to remember that when we are maintaining rich institutions without maintaining the faith to support such institutions, these crimes are bound to take place."

* SRI K. BALASUBRAMANYA AYYAR:—"I am not leveling any charge against anybody. If these crimes had been of a stray occurrence, nobody would have taken serious note of it. But they have become frequent. On 14th December an incident took place. The 'Ayyanar' temple in Sathanur was desecrated. The mirasdars in the villages were robbed entirely of their belongings. All the paddy stored in their houses was taken away."

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI:—"When such is the case, why do you want to reduce the expenditure on the security services?"

* SRI K. BALASUBRAMANYA AYYAR:—"I am referring to the increase in public expenditure in the administrative field as a whole. I know what is happening in the Secretariat, how it has grown very big and how people have become more greedy to get appointments. I know that we are having a top-heavy administration which this poor State cannot shoulder. I know that our personnel are much greater than the service they render. They are paid more than the services that they do. These things have got to be investigated. That is my general impression."

"Let me not be mistaken as though I am against efficiency. I am one of those who say that the policeman is above party politics. I have said so in my last Budget speech. I do not want to say anything against the Police. By all means if the expenditure in the other departments where there is at present top-heavy administration is reduced and that saving is utilized for the strengthening our security services, I would be the first to welcome it (cheers)."

"The Government at the time of taking over these religious institutions were faced with a balance of Rs. 40 lakhs. But they have subsequently absorbed this sum in the general revenues. Why should they merge this sum of Rs. 40 lakhs in the general revenues? I would request them to utilize this sum for the propagation of religious ideas in the temples, for teaching the Vedas and Agamas to the students and, for the running of patasālas. The Hon. Sri C. Rajagopalachari: 'We are doing it'."

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"After all, this sum had been taken from the endowments of the temples and I see no reason why it should not be spent for the sake of temples.

"One more point, Sir, and I have done. Many of the hon. Members who spoke before me mentioned about the sales tax. I shall not dilate upon it. I understand from a report published in the newspapers—I may be corrected if I am wrong—that the Government are going to appoint a Committee to investigate the question whether the single point levy of the sales tax may be adopted in this State or whether the multi-point system now in operation may be continued. If the report is correct, I would request Government to consider the views I am now going to put forth. I shall not take much time. I know there are already some articles like cotton, yarn and cigarettes wherein the single point system is being adopted. The single point system may be adopted in the case of many more articles. Of course the whole question may be left to the Committee that is going to be appointed.

"I know that sales tax is one of the major sources of revenue invented by the genius of our Chief Minister. I looked into the Budget and I find that the income from sales tax is Rs. 5 crores."

THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM:—"For six months."

* SRI K. BALASUBRAMANYA AYYAR:—"Yes, for six months. I am not for reducing or repealing of sales tax. I am not one of those who consider it an immoral tax. Of course it is the consumer who is responsible for the payment of this tax. I am for a revision of the tax structure. The poor man should not be unduly burdened. Why can't the sales tax be increased on luxury goods, which the rich handle? Surely I am for it. The tax on entertainments may be increased. Of course I may become unpopular if I say it. But I want to stress that point. I would even recommend a tax on music. If anyone wants to hear good music, he must pay for it. It is worthwhile paying for it."

THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM:—"What about the hon. Members Academy?"

* SRI K. BALASUBRAMANYA AYYAR:—"Of course I belong to the Music Academy. If I were to speak like this there, I would be driven out of it (laughter.) I am a music lover but all the same I am for increasing the tax on entertainments and luxury goods and at the same time lessening the burden on the poor man. Even in foreign countries we find the tax on luxury goods and entertainments is high. But in our country we have a peculiar kind of legislation. We have the agricultural revenue. I think even agricultural income-tax will come. We have the betterment tax. Of course we have now the Amaravathi scheme and I find that the Government are going to levy a betterment fee on the agriculturists, who were not much hopeful previously of the Amaravathi project but who now find themselves suddenly with

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the prospect of early execution of the Amaravathi Project. I am not for the levy of betterment fee. This betterment tax is not a proper tax. I may have to oppose it when the subject comes before the House. I shall not talk much about it now. Of course we have not come to a decision on the same. Therefore I shall leave it at that point.

"I am with the Government for getting the revenue under this sales tax, a milch cow."

SRI MOHAMMAD RAZA KHAN:—"It is Gopal Reddi's 'Khamadhenu' (laughter).

SRI K. BALASUBRAMANYA AYYAR:—"I am not for reducing that milch cow to the level of the cows, therefore comes across in the streets of Madras (laughter).

"As I said before, the single point system may come into operation on almost all articles which are of daily use. At the same time let the tax on luxury goods be increased. The tax on the purchase of motor cars may come in under the latter category. Of course hon. Members know that even for small minor repairs in our cars ten or fifteen rupees is charged and when the final bill comes, it is for a much larger figure.

"In conclusion let me thank you, Mr. Chairman, for having given me this opportunity where I feel that I am irrelevant because I am talking on 'appropriation'." (Cheers.)

1.20
p.m.

MR. CHAIRMAN:—"I am sorry the hon. Member Mr. Balasubramanya Ayyar did not get a chance before. I have got to take into account so many considerations in calling upon an hon. Member to speak. But he got more time today than what he would have got if I had called him on any one of the two days allotted for the general discussion of the budget.

"At the special request of hon. Member Dr. John, I am allowing him to speak."

* DR. V. K. JOHN:—"I thank you, Mr. Chairman, for allowing me to speak. I propose to confine myself to the Appropriation Bill and not go over the budget.

"I want to make one preliminary remark. If we use any strong words in our criticism of the Government, they are not used with any ill-will or animosity or bitterness. I say this both on my own behalf and on behalf of my Party. When we talk, sometimes we forget ourselves. I have been told by many friends that the criticism of the Government will not be forgotten or forgiven by this Government. I do not believe in it, because I know almost all the Ministers. If they remember our criticisms, I am sure it is only for the purpose of answering them and they do not carry any bitterness when they leave this hall. Many of us are accustomed to arguments in courts of law and sometimes we have to appear against our best friends. I want to give this assurance to the

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Government that any strong language that I may use—I do not promise that I will not use strong language—is not meant to hurt anybody. Even to-day somebody asked me to move a motion in this House against some observations of the Hon. Sri C. Subramaniam attributing to Sri S. B. Adityan the motive of gaining popularity. I at once replied that I had known Sri Subramaniam for a long time, in the heat of the argument he might have said something and that I did not think that he would even remember it at this stage. Nobody should take amiss any strong language used by the Members. I take any observation made about my speech in that light only and I am not in the least offended by anybody criticising me.”

THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM:—“ As far as my remark with reference to Sri Adityan was concerned, it was not said in the heat of the argument. I said it deliberately.”

* DR. V. K. JOHN:—“ Any way, there was no ill-will or bitterness behind it.

“ As regards the Appropriation Bill, I want to submit that it has been introduced in violation of article 204 (1) of the Constitution. It says:

‘ As soon as may be after the grants under article 203 have been made by the Assembly, there shall be introduced a Bill to provide for the appropriation out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of all moneys required to meet—

(a) the grants so made by the Assembly; and

(b) the expenditure charged on the Consolidated Fund of the State but not exceeding in any case the amount shown in the statement previously laid before the House or Houses.’

It is only after laying the statement before this House also that the Appropriation Bill can be introduced in the other House. There must be a discussion in this House. Since the statement was not laid before this House previous to the introduction of the Appropriation Bill in the Assembly, I say there is a violation of Article 204 (1) of the Constitution. I want the Government to consider this matter and not to repeat the mistake hereafter if they have made a mistake now.

“ In this Appropriation Bill, an amount of Rs. 19,58,48,400 is asked for under the Demand relating to Capital Outlay on Schemes of State Trading. This is an enormous amount, especially when we consider that the appropriation is only for a period of six months. The Hon. Finance Minister did not make any reference to this in his budget speech delivered on 14th December 1953. But he has referred to this subject in some of his previous budget speeches. In paragraph 18 of his budget speech, dated 27th June 1952, he has stated as follows:—

‘ With the decontrol of foodgrains and the abolition of procurement, the transactions under State Trading Schemes will diminish very considerably. At this time of flux, it is impossible to forecast whether there would be any net credit or debit under this head affecting the general ways and means budget. For the present, it is presumed that these transactions will balance each other. The Budget provides for a net outlay of Rs. 9 lakhs only under this head to cover the subsidy and establishment charges mainly on certain manure distribution schemes.’

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In paragraph 16 of his budget speech, dated 14th March 1953, he has stated as follows:—

“The budget for the year anticipated a net disbursement of Rs. 9 lakhs under State Trading Schemes. The net disbursement is now expected to be Rs. 391 lakhs and this worsening is due to the large stocks of rice and chemical manures expected to be held on Government account at the close of the year.”

Now the appropriation for State Trading Schemes for six months is as much as Rs. 19 crores and odd. In 1946, that is in the first year of the Congress Government after the Section 93 regime when Sri T. Prakasam was the Chief Minister, I remember that the loss on State Trading Schemes was enormous. It amounted to a few crores. I took up the question and the reason given by the Accountant-General was that the loss due to loss in transit, loss in godowns and loss due to pilferage. We must know how this money is spent and whether any loss is incurred.

“I find that the item relating to State Trading Schemes has been transferred from the Revenue Account to the Capital Account. What is the reason for the transfer? What are these plus and minus figures? Do the minus figures represent any losses? Heavy losses may be incurred in spending so much money. I would suggest to the Government with all respect that the State Trading Schemes may be entrusted to the normal trade channels. Government may not be able to carry out these schemes successfully, as Government officers may not care for the losses. I am quite sure that this Government are very particular to avoid as much loss as possible.”

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI:—“The main item is the buying and selling of rice.”

* DR. V. K. JOHN:—“That work also can be entrusted to the normal trade channels.

“I wish to raise one more point. I want this Government to utilize some money for finding out whether our middle class is disappearing. No statistics are taken regarding this. I feel and some others also feel that the middle class is being wiped out and that we have got only the poor class. In England statistics have been taken. There, in 1938–39, there were 13½ million people earning less than £150 per year, and in 1945–46, this figure got reduced to 7½ millions. In 1938–39 the number of people earning between £150 and £1,000 was 4½ million, and 1945–46 this figure rose to 8 millions. It will be very good if the Government find out whether we are progressing or retrogressing.”

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI:—“We are going down.”

* DR. V. K. JOHN:—“The Hon. Chief Minister says that we are going down. We must have statistics and we must know the reason for it.”

MR. CHAIRMAN:—“The House will now rise for lunch and meet again at 2-30 p.m. and finish its sitting at 4 p.m.”

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(After lunch—2-30 p m.)

* SRI P. B. K. THIAGARAJA REDDIAR:—“ Mr. Chairman, Sir, in supporting the Appropriation Bill presented to this House by the Hon. the Finance Minister, I wish to make a few observations. I fully agree with the view expressed by the Hon. the Chief Minister that we have really exhausted the great and dependable water sources and that the projects now being sanctioned are marginal ones, involving huge capital outlay. It is gratifying to note that the Government feel that they cannot justify these unproductive works before the general tax-payer and that attention should be turned to the minor irrigation works. Schemes have been sanctioned and executed where more than one thousand rupees are spent to irrigate one acre of land. It is high time that we cried halt to the major irrigation projects which involve crores of rupees. Government should turn their attention to the long-neglected minor irrigation works, especially in the old zamindari areas. Loud protests were made that the zamindars had neglected the irrigation tanks and that many tanks had become ruined. More than five years have passed since the abolition of the zamindari estates. I am afraid that no steps have been taken to investigate the condition of these tanks and to gather particulars thereon. The prosperity of this State lies in renovating these ruined tanks scattered all over the districts. It is a matter for regret to note that this Government have allotted only a few lakhs of rupees for these minor irrigation works. I appeal to the Government that full investigation must be made and that a plan must be chalked out immediately regarding these minor irrigation tanks. I hope that the Government would allot more funds for these works at least in the Budget for 1954-55.

“ The next point that I wish to impress upon this Government is with regard to rural electrification. The Hon. the Chief Minister is expressing on many platforms that villagers should not depend upon electricity for their agricultural operations. I entirely agree with his view that we cannot replace animal power by electricity in the agricultural sector. But one tedious and expensive operation in agriculture is baling out water from deep wells. We should remember that our forefathers had given a name for this operation ‘கவலை’ which is distressing both for men and bullocks. It is only for lessening this distressing operation and for minimising the cost of production that villagers demand electric energy. A scheme for extension of 110 K.V. lines to Rasipuram and Namakkal had been sanctioned in the year 1951-52. But I regret to find that no allotment of funds has been made in the Budget even though the villagers of Namakkal and Rasipuram taluks had contributed their mite appreciably to the Government loan floated in July last. I appeal to the Government to execute this scheme and allot funds for this purpose in the next year's Budget.

“ The next and last point which I want to speak about is animal husbandry. I really congratulate the Hon. the Chief Minister on allocating the portfolio of Animal Husbandry to the Hon. Sri V. C. Palanisami Gounder who is a keen and practical agriculturist.

[Sri P. B. K. Thiagaraja Reddiar] [2nd January 1954]

Even though a separate Minister is in charge of this portfolio, I find, with great regret, that a sum of only Rs. 17 lakhs and odd is found in the Appropriation Bill for this department which has to serve as important function in the agricultural sector. I am really proud to say that this Government are maintaining a good cattle-breeding farm at Hosur in Salem district—I say a good farm, not a useful farm. The main function of this farm is to supply pedigree breeding bulls to the ryots. Has that objective been achieved? The answer is in the negative. Let me pass on an interesting information to the Hon. the Minister in charge of Animal Husbandry—who is unfortunately not here now—that Hosur breeding bulls are notorious for their impotency. The reasons for this sorry state of affairs are the climate, the environment, the feed and psychology. When I visited this farm last month, I saw 400 bulls kept there for sale for which there was no demand from the public. The Government must take immediate steps to auction these bulls without incurring expenditure on their maintenance. Let me offer my suggestion, Sir, as one who has some experience in cattle breeding. If the Government permit to sell the bull calves at one or one and a half years of age, they may serve a useful purpose since they can acclimatise themselves in the environment of the ryots in their early age. Expenditure on feeding these bulls would be reduced and the price may be reasonable for the ryots who purchase them.

“Sir, this one farm cannot meet the demand of the whole State and cannot serve its useful purpose. I appeal to the Government to start model cattle-breeding farms, one for each district with at least 200 animals to start with. Then only we can say that the Animal Husbandry Department is contributing something to the cause of the agriculturists.

“Sir, in this connexion, I wish to refer to one more point. The land hunger is prevalent everywhere. Some hon. Members pointed out during the Budget debate that all available lands should be assigned for cultivation. While doing so, the Government must bear in mind the cattle problem also. In my district of Salem, unauthorized occupation of tank-bed lands has become a common feature so much so that the occupiers of these lands divert and damage the sources of supply to these tanks. I earnestly appeal to the Government that orders should be sent to the Collectors to see that no tank-bed lands are assigned or unauthorizedly occupied, in the interests of food production and grazing for the cattle.

“With these few observations, Sir, I support this Appropriation Bill presented to this House.”

2-40
p.m.

* SRI T. M. DAIVASIKHAMANI ACHARIAR:—“Mr. Chairman, at the outset let me thank you, Sir, for the opportunity that you have given me to speak on this occasion. Reference has been made by the hon. Leader of the Opposition to the belated presentation of the budget in this Council. Though he has not

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expressed it in so many words what he said was tantamount to saying that this House was called upon to whip up a dead horse as it were. I submit there is some truth in his statement. This House was considered superfluous by some persons elsewhere and some people even went to the extent of taking advantage of a provision in the Constitution and were insisting upon that. Luckily this House has passed that ordeal. But let me tell the hon. Members of the House that this sort of agitation is not peculiar to India. This agitation was set afoot in England by Prof. Laski and he was carrying on this agitation widely in season and out of season against the House of Lords. For about 25 years he was working to that end. Fortunately, he did not succeed in his lifetime. The argument put forward by him was that when the Lower House was entrusted with various important matters and finance, the Upper House was superfluous. If the Upper House endorsed what was said by the Lower House, he thought that the former was superfluous. If a Bill was condemned by the House of Lords, he said it was impertinent. Applying some sane principle to this House, I think some sort of legislation is necessary to safeguard the interests of this House. With my knowledge of things in the past years, I have come to the conclusion that this House consists of elderly gentlemen and level-headed politicians like hon. Members Sir A. Lakshmanaswamy Mudaliar, Mr. Narayanaswamy Pillai and Mr. Balasubramania Ayyar, if I may include him also. These gentlemen have been giving sage counsel not only for the upliftment of the masses, but also in regard to legislation in general. We cannot put the clock back. We must move with the current. We must see what is taking place in other countries. When once the Constitution provides for an Upper House, in a State, it must continue until it is found absolutely unnecessary.

"I wish to say that hon. Member Dr. Lakshmanaswamy Mudaliyar has raised some pertinent points in his speech. Hon. Member Dr. John who spoke before him said something about statesmen and statesmanship. I have come to an age from which I can very well understand who were the statesmen in the past and who are the present-day statesmen of this country of ours. I recall to you the great statesman Sir A. Seshayya Sastri under whose feet Lord Curzon sat at a time. That great Lord Curzon, who had a very poor opinion about Indians, was with him for hours and discussed the general politics of this country. In the present modern times also, this country has produced great statesmen. Hon. Member Dr. John, in the course of his speech on the floor of this House made mention of two statesmen of the State. He referred to Sir A. Ramaswamy Mudaliar and his great talents. He also referred to Sir C. P. Ramaswami Ayyar and his abilities. I admit that they are great statesmen. But he has omitted one name and it is that of hon. Member Dr. Lakshmanaswamy Mudaliyar. He is not an ordinary gentleman. He has got an international reputation to his credit. These three great men of this State are unfortunately bottled up in three Universities. Given the chance, these three gentleman will shine as great administrators. Till now, I have not referred to great statesmen of

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Hon. Sri Rajagopalachari's type. He is above everybody. Time will prove and show that he is going to occupy a great place of honour. He is going to occupy that place and win the admiration of the people of this country, why, the whole world. I am sure he will occupy that place very soon for the benefit of his countrymen.

"Sir, mention was made about the change in the tone of administration of the State. I admit any administration is capable of improvement in the matter of tone. No doubt we have a great administrator, Rajaji. But, do we allow him or do we give him a chance to ponder over things calmly and take decisions? Do we give him the necessary peace of mind which an administrator requires? There are unfortunately people who try to oust him. Rightly or wrongly, some of them think he is a misfit in administration. Sir, I entirely differ from those people. He is the best man who can tide over the present troubled conditions. He is the best person who can also pour oil on troubled waters. I am sure his administration would greatly benefit our State, especially at this state of development. I hope he will make up his mind not to mind these minor pin-pricks and that he will go ahead with his good work for the benefit of the masses of this State. I hope he will also bring forward all the legislations required for the well-being of the people of this State.

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p.m.

"Sir, some hon. Member said that the Congress is going to lose its popularity in the coming elections. I also have got my own fears about it. But, still the Congress must be there. Instead of saying that the Congress is going to be defeated in the next elections and things like that, I would urge on all Congress-minded people and others who are interested in the welfare of the masses of this State to earnestly work for putting the Congress organisation of the State on a very sound basis. There are certain Augean stables in it which should be cleared and we want a Hercules of the type of Rajaji to work towards that end. Having said this, Sir, with great restraint, I shall pass on to other subjects.

"It was said that the promises made by Ministers in this House are not kept by Ministers. I have got a little grievance in this respect: What I would suggest to the Government is that they should remember them and take action and also give information to the House at its subsequent sitting as to what has been done on those promises. This is the usual procedure adopted even in small societies and we are all anxious that some such procedure should be adopted here also in future. This is only a suggestion and it is for the Government to consider it or throw it in the dust.

"I next come to another point. I am one of those who have supported and are supporting here and elsewhere the new Elementary Education Scheme. I have got great belief in it not only because it is going to produce an army of young artisans in future but will help the growth of industries in general in the country.

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The improvement of cottage industries is one Delilah of my existence. For the past thirty-five years, I have been working for the improvement of cottage industries in this country. So far as the South is concerned, it has been considered as a famous land where cottage industrialists had done wonderful works and raised stupendous monuments of art. There were not only enduring monuments of art, but also there were handicrafts for which this part of the country had been noted. But arts and crafts have all disappeared. This scheme which I was dreaming of and which the Chief Minister has rightly dreamt, will, if given a chance to work, help to re-kindle the light of extinct cottage industries. It is not only going to resuscitate cottage industries; it is going to do away with unemployment for ever and the parents, at the same time, will be given an opportunity to learn more about these industries which are absolutely needed for the progress of the Nation. Unfortunately, this State so far has not improved in spite of the many Acts providing aid and subsidies to cottage industries and they are standing to-day in the same place as they stood in 1937. Some honest efforts on the part of Government should be made to improve them. Some hon. Members pointed out that there was no provision in the Budget to improve cottage industries. It is unfortunate that this subject has not been taken note of by the Government in framing the Budget. The country can progress not through the advancement of the big industries alone. The cottage industries alone can help its rapid progress. Even in countries like England and Switzerland, they are helping industrial progress. The watches made in the cottage in Switzerland are famous and when that is so what need is there for me to expatiate on the need for improvement of cottage industries? I want the Government to take measures to improve them.

“ Then, Sir, referring to the Committee that went into the scheme of Elementary Education, I complained and rightly complained—and I hope not only this House but the country as a whole would admit—that not even a single industrialist was included in the Committee. So, that Committee had to go into the Educational Scheme only and not into other factors. Of course, there is a stray paragraph about cottage industries in the report and that too is not correct from an industrialist's point of view. Taking all these into consideration and considering also the view expressed by our great Prime Minister, we must do something in earnest to improve them. I hope the Government before pushing the scheme to any great extent, will consult the right type of men in this regard and get their opinion. I want then a working programme to be chalked out. It was pointed out in the House that statues are being cast in Italy, because our artisans are not trained to make hollow-casting. I would add one thing more to the list. Even paintings for a Government of India publication are done in Italy. For another publication which is intended to bring out Indian talent, the paintings are made in England. These are very humiliating facts no doubt. Our ancient Indian craftsmen had great belief in turning out strong and substantial works. Brass

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vessels were made not for one generation but for three generations to come. And the present-day Indian craftsmen follow their ancestors. So, an absolute necessity has arisen for the reorientation and improvement of our cottage industries and they must be organized on workable, profitable and efficient lines. With these words, Sir, I conclude my speech and in doing so I support the Appropriation Bill which is before the House."

3 p.m. * SRI V. BASHYAM AYYANGAR:—"Mr. Chairman, Sir, at this fag end of discussion connected with Budgets proposals, I do not propose to take much time. I wish to make only a few general observations. I do not propose to concern myself at this time of the day with the general high policies of the Government. The observations which I wish to make will be with reference to the man in the village. As far as principles and policies are concerned, the Government which is now at the helm of affairs is going in the right direction. There is no doubt that its intentions are very good and they will do the greatest good to the whole country. But taking the ordinary man in the village, we have to examine how he is treated and what opportunities he has got to get his small needs met. Now a villager may want to obtain some information in the village itself. It may be about the land revenue due on his lands, or number or extent of his land or some such thing. The villagers are generally illiterate and even literacy will not make much difference in solving his problem. To get any small information he has to go to the village officers, the karnam and the village munsif. Though these village officers are permanent residents of the village they are not easily available to the ordinary man. They are absent somewhere else. Even when they are available they are not ready to furnish the information. The village munsif will not himself be able to assist the villager so far as the village accounts are concerned. The next higher authority whom he may approach to get the information is the Revenue Inspector. That officer is very often under obligation to the karnam and he is not eager to help the villager with the information required by him. The next office where the villager could get information is the Taluk Office. Looking at these offices generally, I am afraid, the morale and discipline in these offices have not at all improved in recent years. On the other hand, I think there is reason to say that they have gone down. I will challenge any officer of the Government or even any Minister to make a surprise visit to these offices and see how they work. The Minister or the Government officer would find the clerks going about here and there and the general public crowding round the place. There is no discipline maintained in those offices. And with the peons and clerks in the offices, the villager generally finds it very difficult to get any information from Taluk offices.

"In the Taluk offices I find no register is maintained for applications or tapals received as it used to be done before. Some years before a register was maintained for tapals received in the office. I think this has been given up now. Recently I had sent some letters to a Taluk office. I did not receive any reply to

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them. When I went to make enquiries about it, I was told that no such register was maintained. There is no knowing as to how the tapals received in the office are disposed of. It is very difficult to ascertain how tapals received in the office are disposed of. About two months after sending a letter to the taluk office I went to the Tahsildar to enquire what had happened to my letter. A search was made in the office for an hour and a half and the letter could not be traced. Nobody knew when it was received and to whom it was sent. Luckily I had sent it by registered post and I showed the postal acknowledgment to the Tahsildar. Thereupon he insisted on my letter being traced. With great difficulty it was found in a bundle of papers. One of the senior clerks in the office said that he maintained an unauthorized register to register tapals received by registered post. My letter had not been registered even in that register. When I pointed out this, it was explained to me that tapals were not registered in the order in which they were received but were distributed to concerned clerks whose duty it was to register them in their section registers. So, between the receiving clerk and the section clerk any number of papers may be lost and nothing is done to check this. What I want to impress upon the Government is this. It is in their interest to see that these offices are kept at the highest pitch of efficiency, morale and discipline. The best way in which this could be done is by making surprise inspections. These surprise inspections should be made by officers of the grade of Sub-Collectors or Collectors. But these Officers have so much work in general to do that they are unable to attend to this important duty. I earnestly request Government to devote some attention to this matter and see that the lower grade offices are maintained efficiently so that the villager could get any information that he wants readily. In some departments of Government something like the 'Courtesy week' or 'Know thy customers week' is celebrated in order to bring the officials in close contact with the non-officials and also to impress upon the officials the necessity to oblige or give all available information to the people with whom they have to deal. Some sort of such campaign will be useful for these offices also. I was talking only about Taluk offices. Other offices are also in the same condition. The villagers are not able to get any information they want. I must confess here, that there is a general idea among the people, that unless one has some extra influence or is prepared to go out of the way he cannot get the help that he is entitled to from these offices. That is the state of affairs. The sooner it is put down, the better it would be for the Government. There is no doubt we have fine discussions here. The policies and principles are discussed here. One of the best leaders of the country is in charge of the Government. There is therefore nothing to be desired so far as the Cabinet or Higher ranks of the officers are concerned. But this does not help the villager very much. Here we discuss questions of law, questions of principle, the Five-year Plan and all that. But the benefits of these discussions and policies and principles should trickle down to the villager in order to produce a permanent benefit.

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“The next point I would like to mention is about want of guidance for these villagers. There are a number of officers. There is no scarcity in this regard. But if we go to the village and make enquiries we will be appalled at the ignorance of the villagers on many things. The Hon. the Chief Minister in presenting the Budget said that everybody should work hard. No doubt it is true hard work alone can produce prosperity. The villagers are quite willing to do hard work. But they do not know how to work and what to work at. They do not have ready work to do. They cultivate their lands only when there is rain or water. But at other times they have no work and they require guidance to do useful work during that period. Government must take paternal care of these village folk. They must start cottage industries and make the villagers get interested and get employed in those industries. Simply saying that people must work hard does not help them. They are willing to do work but do not know how to work. Therefore there must be some officer to guide them and find them employment. In big cities like Madras you have got the Employment Exchange and other offices to help the unemployed to get employment. How far these Employment Exchanges have solved the problem of unemployment, I do not know and I do not want to discuss it here.

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“Sir, even that facility is available only in the cities but what about the villages? Supposing a man in a village wants to have some information about the availability of work and he is willing to work. At present there is no facility for him to get that information. There must be some one to guide him in this respect. Therefore, I would suggest that there should be some sort of guide in certain localities to instruct such a needy person so that he may usefully spend his time to his advantage and to the advantage of the whole country.

“Sir, I wanted to say something about Prohibition but after hearing the effective speech of the Hon. Chief Minister, I do not wish to take up the time of this honourable House by referring to it.

“Next, I come to social welfare work. My hon. Friend Mrs. Clubwala Jadhav has spoken eloquently about it and impressed the whole House. The Government which are now running a Welfare State have to take the help of voluntary social welfare workers. Otherwise, the Government will not be able to do much to the society. When there is an organization willing to help the State, I think, it is the duty of the Government to give them the necessary help and take their co-operation. The Guild of Service, of which hon. Member Mrs. Clubwala Jadhav is the Honorary and energetic Secretary, is doing a lot of very good work in all directions. It has got a number of workers who are willing to give their time and energy, not for a salary, but voluntarily and gratuitously for social work. It is the duty of the Government to take the fullest advantage of such an organization. Hon. Member,

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Mrs. Clubwala Jadhav, has already referred to the various activities in which this social service organization is engaged in this City and in the districts. The Guild of Service is extending its activities at so fast a pace, that to-day in almost every district, we have got a branch of the parent organization. They are doing very useful work in the districts. The Government would do well to take advantage of these organizations.

“ Now, let me come to the School of Social Service to which special reference has been made by hon. Member, Mrs. Clubwala Jadhav. This school is doing very important work. As the House is aware, very recently Professor Wadia, who is an authority on the subject of Social Welfare, visited the school and observed its working. He was full of praise for this institution. Its recognition by the Government is an urgent matter and I hope the Government will grant it without delay. The Committee which has been appointed by the Government has already looked into the affairs of this school and, I think, they have been fairly well-impressed with the work this institution has done during the short time that it has been in existence. I would request the Government to give not only recognition but also greater financial help to this school. This school is really doing the work which the Government ought to do. As a matter of fact, the House knows that the original proposal was that the Government themselves should start this school. Now that a voluntary agency has come to the help of the Government, they should liberally help, them both financially and in other respects. With these words, I support the Bill that has been placed before the House.”

* SRI A. M. ALLAPICHAJ:—“ Mr. Chairman, Sir, when I came to this House this morning, I thought I would not speak. But for the remarks and observations made by the hon. Member, Sri Raza Khan, I would not have spoken to-day. While making his speech on the Budget, Sri Govinda Menon made certain remarks about the Muslim League. He said that the Government were encouraging the Muslim League and, as a result of that encouragement, the Hindu Maha Sabha and other communal organizations are raising their heads in some taluks of the Malabar district. I thought that the Government would answer but, perhaps, due to some oversight, they did not answer that point. My own feeling is that the Government, as they are situated to-day, cannot prosecute any communal organization. The communal organizations as such, do exist but it is left to the sanity or wisdom of the leaders of these communal organizations to see that it is not in the interest of the communities which they represent, that such communal organizations should exist in this great country. My hon. Friend, Sri Govinda Menon, would have been very correct if he had said that the Government have suffered the Muslim League and other communal organizations to exist. That would have been more correct and not that they are encouraging it because it is the great policy of the great Congress not to encourage in any way any communal organization. Such being the case, the Government which is a Congress Government, I am

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positively sure, would not have encouraged and have not encouraged the Muslim League. I personally do not like to indulge in any kind of cheap attack against any organization. But one thing is clear. In so far as that matter has come up before this House, I think, it is my imperative duty to say that. The Pakistan issue was fought some years back on this basis, viz., that the Muslims represent one nation and the Hindus represent another nation. That was the most dangerous theory and some of the nationalist Muslims in the country and some of the greatest Muslims in the country had protested against that theory and did their best in that direction. Well, it might have been a genuine mistake on the part of the Muslims in India, but soon after the partition, they should have realized that there is no place for the two nation theory. As the hon. Member Sir Mohamed Usman has correctly observed, the leaders of the Muslim League organization should have made it clear, soon after the partition of the country, that the Muslims and Hindus of India constitute one nation. They have failed. They have not done their job properly by the Muslims. We have to say so.

“ I come to another point. Really it is a question affecting two different States, viz., Pakistan and India.”

MR. CHAIRMAN:—“ Let the hon. Member leave it at that.”

* SRI A. M. ALLAPICHAJ:—“ I shall leave it at that, Sir.

3-20 p.m. “ My hon. Friend, Sri Raza Khan, has made a good observation regarding cotton betting. Perhaps, most of the Members may not know what cotton betting is. We know much about horse betting and there is legislation prohibiting the betting on horses. As a matter of fact, cotton betting also comes under the City Police Act and it is punishable under this Act. Perhaps, most of the Members also do not know that every day our people are wasting about fifty thousand rupees on this betting. There are about ten or fifteen agents in the City who run this show. No doubt the Police are taking action against them but they have to take much more effective action to put an end to this thing.

“ Another point which I wish to suggest is this: Hon. Friends, in this House, spoke a lot against prohibition which my party and the Government are pursuing. Perhaps, they may not know that our Government, viz., the Composite State have not lost about Rs. 20 crores but taking into account the money the people were wasting on drinks, we have saved our people nothing less than Rs. 100 crores which came chiefly from our poorest countrymen. The poorest of the poor were paying this money. The people are really happier than what they were during pre-prohibition days. Some Members may no doubt say that there is a big number of prohibition cases in the courts. But, we have to remember that those who were making their living by dacoity by theft, by cheating, have now given up these kinds of professions and have taken to the preparation of illicit liquor. They have done so because by spending about Rs. 5 they can get illicit arrack worth about Rs. 10

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or Rs. 15 and they make a good profit. I do not find fault with the Government because, after all, the Police is also a limb of the Government. I, however, feel that the Police are not taking as effective steps as they ought to have taken against these offenders. Perhaps, they may have other difficulties. Another point which I want to bring to the notice of the Government in this connexion is that there is not as much co-operation between the Prohibition department and the Police department. They must co-operate much more in this direction and, if they did so, I think it will be much better. Finally, I thank the Hon. Chairman for giving me this chance to speak."

* SRI S. P. SIVASUBRAMANYA NADAR:—" Mr. Chairman, Sir, I must in the first instance congratulate the Government on the timely Ordinance which they have passed. I refer to the moratorium which has been given to the agriculturists. It has come as a timely help. Many a family was facing ruin on account of the continuous drought conditions prevailing in the country due to lack of rain. They were groaning under heavy debts and the creditors were at their heels to realize their dues. Fortunately, owing to good rains conditions have now improved and this Ordinance has come in time to save them. At the same time, I want to impress on the Government certain salient factors which affect the agriculturists consequent on the passing of this enactment because as soon as any enactment is passed people are only too anxious to get over its provisions. One such move now adopted is the number of insolvency petitions which are filed to declare these unfortunate ryots as insolvents. Though the Ordinance contemplates stay of execution proceedings no provision has been made to stay insolvency proceedings against these debtors.

" Another method adopted to circumvent this legislation is that whenever a cultivator has to borrow for cultivation or other purposes, he is asked to convey or, rather, to sell the property to the money-lender with an oral promise that if the amount is returned within a stipulated period the money-lender would reconvey the property. But, we know the mentality of the money-lenders. Once these unfortunate debtors commit themselves in writing and convey their properties to the money-lenders, they scarcely ever get them back and the promise to reconvey the properties is never honoured. Provision ought to have been made to prevent such unconscionable transactions.

" The hon. Member Sri Alexander Gnanamuttu, referred to the panicky condition in which Palamcottah is on account of some repeated robberies. No doubt the tone of the Police administration has greatly improved during the past two years but, at the same time, I may point out that the staff in the Police station is not adequate to meet the growing necessities. As far as Tirunelveli, Palamcottah and Melapalayam are concerned, these are three contiguous towns which for purposes of local administration are divided into three municipalities. As compared to Tiruchirappalli and other places, these three together form a big town. But,

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unfortunately, as far as Police administration is concerned, there is no separate Crime Branch and these three places are policed with inadequate staff as in any other local area. I therefore request the Government to make provision for opening a separate Crime Branch as far as these three towns are concerned.

"As regards jail administration I have been a sub-jail visitor for a number of years and my experience is that the cells are always overcrowded. Sometimes, even more than thrice the number of convicts or under-trial prisoners are clubbed together in one cell and the result is that their health is impaired. The headquarters sub-jail at Kokkarakulam is always overcrowded and sometimes it contains more than five to six times the number of inmates it could ordinarily contain. Originally this building was not intended to be a sub-jail. An old Sub-Registrar's office has now been converted into a sub-jail with very little amenities. I would request the Government to make adequate provision to have a separate sub-jail which would conform to rules and regulations.

"Sir, lastly, I would like to refer to one other matter before I finish, viz., the palmyra tax to which reference was made by representatives from Tirunelveli district. The palmyra trees are mostly grown in the taluks of Nanguneri, and Tiruchendur in the Tirunelveli district. They grow mostly on the sand dunes 'சேதரி' as they are called in Tamil. These sand dunes are unfit for any other kind of cultivation. Therefore, if the land tax is to be raised to the maximum dry rate and with the palmyra trees also not yielding much revenue now, the tax will be a very heavy burden on the landholder. I will therefore request the hon. Minister in charge to reconsider the matter from this aspect and to fix up at an early date the land tax consistent with the quality of the soil on which the palmyras are grown. With these words, Sir, I support the Appropriation Bill."

3-30
p.m.

* THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM:—"Mr. Chairman, Sir, I am grateful to the hon. Members for making a useful contribution to today's debate. Before I proceed to refer to the various points raised in the debate, I would first like to clear certain misapprehensions with regard to the contents of the Appropriation Bill which were pointed out by hon. Member Dr. John. He referred to the provision of Rs. 19½ crores provided for State Trading Schemes and wondered why there should be such a large expenditure under this head. The Appropriation Bill is intended to give authority to the Executive Government to draw money from the Consolidated Fund of the State and it does not take into account what we put into that Consolidated Fund. Even though we may be putting into the Consolidated Fund the entire amount, still if we wish to draw any amount within the course of the year the Legislature will have to give authority to the Government specifically. That is why we are making a provision for Rs. 19½ crores under State trading which money we will be drawing from the Consolidated Fund. We will, of course, be putting back into the fund from time to time the sale proceeds from such State

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trading, but that cannot be taken into account in asking for authority to draw necessary funds from the Consolidated Fund. This provision represents the gross amount which we would be drawing from the Consolidated Fund.

“Hon. Member Dr. John also referred to the transfer of State Trading from Revenue Account to Capital Account and asked why it had been done. In 1951 or so it was decided to transfer this State trading from the Revenue to the Capital Account and I suppose that Dr. John was a Member of this House then but he did not raise the matter at that time. I am glad he has taken notice of it now. In State Trading Schemes, it is not possible to close the accounts within the financial year and sometimes large stocks will have to be carried over at the end of the financial year. The result will be that the account under State trading will be showing a large deficit which is not real and this deficit will be reflected on the Revenue Account as a whole. Sometimes we might carry over at the end of the year large surplus stocks. Sometimes we might have sold the stocks immediately or sometimes we might have a large sum of money in the Consolidated Fund provided for under State Trading Schemes. So, the actual position of the Revenue Budget was not reflected when State Trading Schemes were kept in the Revenue Account. These State Trading Schemes do not after all form part of the normal activity of the Government. I agree with Dr. John that these activities should normally be carried on through trade channels. But with reference to certain articles, certainly we cannot hand over the entire responsibility to private trade. That is why, it was found necessary that we should take over the rice trade especially the rice that we were able to get from outside our State by allotment by the Central Government or through imports from foreign countries or through procurement within our State, and we had to sell it at controlled price. That policy we are still continuing to a limited extent and not on the same scale as we used to do before. We have given up almost 75 per cent of it to the private trade now and we are restricting ourselves to only about 25 per cent. The figures of percentages given may not be quite accurate, but I am only giving the Members an idea of what we are doing by way of State trading. In addition to rice, in regard to manure also the State has the monopoly to get it here and sell it through authorized agents. Though sale of manure has been decontrolled and though there is absolutely no control over the sale of manure, still we have to get manure on Government account and then hand it over to merchants. That is why this large sum of Rs. 19½ crores has been provided for State trading schemes. We are giving separate figures for State trading schemes when we are presenting the usual Budget and if only hon. Members would look into the papers given in last March they would find therein that I have given a separate statement showing the state of affairs in the State trading schemes. The plus and minus figures shown therein pointed out the gains that we had made or the losses that we had incurred. Sometimes we make a small gain in these State trading schemes and sometimes we make

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a small loss. Due to great fluctuations in the market prices in 1946, we have been put to huge losses, as was pointed out by Dr. John, during the time of Sri Prakasam's Ministry. That loss was immediately made up next year. On the whole, if we take into account the result of State trading during the past seven or eight years, we have made no loss and on the other hand we have made a little gain. So hon. Members need not have any misapprehension with regard to these State trading schemes.

“The question of general tax structure was again raised by hon. Members to-day. They seemed to have in mind when they raised this question the general level of taxation prevailing in this country. They seem to be under the impression that the general level of taxation in our State is very high and there is scope for lowering it. I have got comparative figures with reference to the various States and the hon. Members will be interested to know them. As far as the State of Bombay is concerned, the annual per capita tax works at Rs. 13·7 and next in the order comes West Bengal with Rs. 12·2 per head. The figure for Madras before partition was only Rs. 8·6 as against Rs. 13·7 per head in Bombay and Rs. 12·2 in West Bengal. After partition, from the available figures, I have calculated the incidence at Rs. 8·8 per head, and the increase of Rs. 0·2 is not much. So when compared to other States, we are taxing much less. Uttar Pradesh comes next to Madras with Rs. 8 per head.”

DR. V. K. JOHN:—“May I know how this incidence of tax is compared with the per capita income of the State?”

THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM:—“The per capita income of the State of Bombay is slightly high. Even then, the incidence of taxation compares favourably with Bombay and West Bengal. When I present the Budget for the next year I will try to give these figures also by way of percentages so that hon. Members may compare the percentage of taxation to income in this State with the figures for other States. We should also take into consideration that a minimum of taxation has got to be maintained. If we take this into consideration we will find that the level of taxation is not very high. If hon. Members says that a particular sector of the community is being unduly oppressed by the burden of taxation, that is a matter which has got to be looked into. I am sure hon. Members do not have statistics in their hands to show that the incidence of any taxation falls very heavily on a certain sector as against the other sectors. (Dr. V. K. John; May we have figures for other States apart from Bombay, West Bengal and Uttar Pradesh?) These are the major States and I am sure there will be figures for other States also. I think the Reserve Bank publishes every quarter a pamphlet wherein very useful information is given in regard to all these matters. The hon. Member can call for these pamphlets. We have to keep in mind that we cannot further reduce the level of taxation. I have absolutely no doubt that we are maintaining a fairly good equilibrium.

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“Sales tax, in spite of the difficulties which hon. Members may find in the working of it is a scientific form of taxation where everyone is charged according to his capacity. A person who is better placed and who is rich purchases more and consequently pays more, rather should I say, is forced to pay more. Similarly the poor man whose purchasing power is less buys less and consequently is taxed less. So we find that the sales tax is a scientific form of taxation. Poor people whose purchasing power is less resort to poor retail sellers who are not much affected by this tax. I gave the figures in the other House in respect of the receipts under sales tax on foodstuffs. Hon. Members should remember that 75 per cent of our produce do not come into the open market. They are consumed by the producers and the labourers who work in the fields. That being so all these labourers who get the grains directly from the producer by way of wages are *not at all* affected by this sales tax. Therefore hon. Members should realise that this tax in fact does not affect the poor cultivators and labourers who work in the fields and for whom they have so eloquently pleaded that this tax has in fact been affecting them (cultivators and poor people) very badly. In spite of all the criticisms levelled against the levy of this sales tax, I still believe that this tax is a scientific form of taxation taking from each according to his capacity. Hon. Member Mr. Raza Khan, in his own usual way, had made mention of some useful points, though it was perhaps not necessary for him to have used either unpleasant or harsh words. We shall take note of the useful suggestions he had made with reference to the handloom industry. He had said that in spite of the attempts made by the Hon. Chief Minister and in spite of the concessions granted both by the Centre and by the State, the condition of the handloom weavers has not improved. I admit that. Of course it is true that the condition of the weavers has not improved to the extent we would like it to improve. I admit that all their grievances have not been redressed. But it should not be forgotten that to some extent their grievances have been redressed. I am glad to say that we have been able to convince the Government of India about the gravity of the situation. The Central Government have taken note of the seriousness of the situation. They have realised the fact that this problem should be solved one way or the other. That is why they levied this cess on mill cloth and made it available for the purpose of giving relief to the handloom industry. In that connection Mr. Raza Khan had complained that this relief had been extended only to the co-operative sector alone to the detriment of the majority of weavers who are outside this sector. But unfortunately the Government of India insist that this relief should be given only through Co-operative institutions and that co-operative schemes alone should be adopted. They say unless this is done it is likely that the money would be wasted. That is why we have taken steps to bring in as many of the handloom weavers as possible into the co-operative fold. I am glad to say that as a matter of fact a good portion of the funds allotted to this State is being utilised to bring in more number of weavers into

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the co-operative fold. It has been proposed to bring in 33,100 weavers into the co-operative fold by giving them free loans for taking shares in the Co-operative Societies. That amounts roughly to Rs. 6,62,000. So also various other schemes have been formulated. We want to give a certain subsidy for pushing the sale of handloom cloth to the Co-operative and other institutions. Therefore it is the intention of Government to use the grant of the Centre to the fullest extent possible by bringing more number of weavers into the co-operative fold. But the fundamental problem is different. We cannot be going on giving subsidy. When lakhs of weavers have got to be fed, it could be done only by reserving a specific pattern for them. That is why we have pleaded for the complete reservation of the manufacture of dhoties and saris for the handloom weavers. That is what this Government pleaded for at the recent Development Council Meeting held at Delhi when the various Chief Ministers of the States met. But the Government of India are concerned with the country as a whole. They want the problem to be solved on a national scale. We pleaded for reservation of the production of saris and dhoties to the handloom weavers. But the Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh stood up and told that they in Uttar Pradesh do not use dhoties and that the saris which their ladies use are entirely different from ours. He said, therefore, that if at all any reservation is made, it should be made with reference to each particular State in a variety which the State asks for. That was the problem which the Government of India were confronted with. That is why we have now definitely come to the conclusion that even though complete reservation of dhoties and saris to the handloom weavers may not be granted, at least so far as this State is concerned, the flow of mill-made dhoties and saris from the North might be stopped forthwith and at least in this part of the country the reservation of dhoties and saris to the handloom industry might come into force. I sincerely hope and trust that our effort in this regard might prove fruitful."

SRI M. P. GOVINDA MENON:—"What about the dhoties and saris manufactured by mills in our own State?"

THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM:—"Of course we are having only few weaving mills. We have some in Coimbatore. Fortunately for us our mills have specialised only in spinning yarn (laughter). Inasmuch as our mills are only few, I do not think it is a great problem. We will not have much competition from our mills once we stop the flow of mill-made dhoties and saris from North India and allow our handloom weavers to go along with their production of dhoties and saris for us."

* **SRI K. BALASUBRAMANYA AYYAR:**—"I read from the paper this morning that the Government of India are going to give relief to the handloom industry only from the Handloom Cess Fund and not any further assistance from other sectors? What is the attitude of this Government in this regard?"

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* THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM :—“ No final decision has been taken in the matter. As a matter of fact this subject was discussed in the recent Development Council Meeting and it was resolved that we should await the publication of the report of the Committee which has been appointed to go into this problem. In the forthcoming meeting this problem would be discussed fully and I hope properly solved. Let us not believe rumours. Let us await the report of the committee that has been appointed to go into that question. I hope and trust they would go into all aspects of the problem and make suitable recommendation for the protection of the handloom industry. I also hope that the Centre would take into consideration the various problems involved and also our plea for reservation in that regard. Therefore let us not be hasty in forming our own conclusions that relief will be given only in this form or that. I am sure that the Government of India are also interested in seeing that the handloom industry is properly protected. The Prime Minister had assured us that this industry would be protected. In fact he has said so in a public meeting here.”

SRI M. P. GOVINDA MENON :—“ Have the Government of Madras communicated to the Centre to prohibit the flow of mill-made dhoties and saris from other parts of South India into Madras? ” (Sri Mohammad Raza Khan: “ And particularly into Malabar ”.)

* THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM :—“ We have already communicated. Sir, with regard to the City bus transport it was complained that we were taking a complacent attitude in the matter. The Hon. Minister for Transport informed the House only the other day that we are going to put 50 more buses on the roads within a short time. If there is increasing demand we are going to provide 50 more buses. The very fact that we want to increase the fleet by 50 more, is proof of the fact that we are alive to the increase in passenger traffic. But unfortunately we cannot at one stroke put all these 50 buses on the road. We have to purchase the chassis and build the coaches and this has got to be done in our factory at Chromepet. We have programmed to purchase these in such a way that it will be possible to build up all the bodies in our own factory, and I am sure hon. Members will welcome that programme. There may be a certain amount of difficulty for bus passengers; I do not say that we have put it all on a sound basis and that there is absolutely no problem to be solved. The very fact that we are adding to the strength of the fleet shows that we are alive to the existence of the problem. I request hon. Members to have some patience and give some time to the Government to introduce these fifty buses. If there is a demand for more buses even after the addition of these fifty buses, certainly the Government will take that into consideration and will not hesitate to come before this House for sanction for the purchase of some more buses.

“ The question of peak-hour traffic will have to be solved only by the introduction of more buses. To however maximum an

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extent we may make use of the present fleet, the problem of congestion arises at some point or other. Therefore let us wait till we introduce the fifty buses which we have programmed to introduce. I am sure that will greatly relieve congestion in bus traffic.

“ I am glad that hon. Member Mr. Raza Khan had a good certificate to give to this Government with regard to the maintenance of law and order. But he pointed out that the betting habit was spreading among the people. I do agree that the instinct of gambling is spreading to a certain extent. It is an instinct which is natural to human beings. Do we gamble only on horses and cotton prices? We are gambling even in education. When a middle class family sends a boy for higher education, the family spends almost all its resources on his education in the hope that he will get some Government employment. What bigger gamble can there be? ”

SRI A. M. ALLAPICHAJ:—“ That gambling is in the right direction.”

*THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM:—“ It is not in the right direction because it causes great distress when a middle class family has spent its entire resources on the education of the boy and ultimately the boy finds he is unable to get any employment. A person who loses in horse racing loses only that much of money which he has in his pocket. But unfortunately, in the case that I referred to, the entire resources of the whole family is lost. That is why I say that it is more dangerous than the gambling in which some people indulge.

“ We have to see that education ceases to be a gamble. Education should be a real training to face the problems of life. Every educated person need not and should not depend upon Government service alone. He should be able to face the problems of life apart from Government service and in spite of Government service.”

DR. V. K. JOHN:—“ May I enquire whether politics is not a game in gambling.” (Laughter.)

* THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM:—“ The very fact that hon. Member Dr. John, is here shows that it is a gamble. (Laughter.)

“ Hon. Member Sri Sivagnana Gramani referred to the question of the Library Committee and the vacancies in it not being filled for the last eight months. If this matter had been brought to my notice earlier, certainly I would have looked into it. Now that it has been brought to my notice, I assure him that I will look into the matter and whatever possible will be done.

“ He pleaded for the adoption of Tamil language with his usual eloquence and power—not that hon. Member Sri Gajapathy Nayar was not eloquent enough. Hon. Member Sri Gramani has got

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his own powerful manner of putting things as far as Tamil is concerned. His speech amply demonstrates that it will be possible to carry on the administration of this State in Tamil language. But the adoption of Tamil does not solve the small problem to which I referred in my reply to the general discussion of the budget. But I assure Sri Gramani that every step will be taken to encourage the use of Tamil language wherever possible. As a true Tamilian I request him to have some patience, as all Tamilians are supposed to have a certain amount of patience.

“Hon. Member Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddi referred to the non-consultation of women's organizations in matters pertaining to women. I am afraid that she is still thinking of the old days when women had no vote. After all, as was pointed out by her, about fifty per cent of the voters are women. They can command any party and chalk out any programme and get it enforced. Women have got equal rights with men in the matter of vote. In some places the number of women voters is more than the number of men voters. That being so, they should not have it both ways that they should have the power of selecting their representatives and after selecting their representatives, women's organisations established in some of the cities should be consulted in matters pertaining to women. That naturally shows that women have not been careful enough in selecting more lady representatives. So I would request these associations to concentrate on this and see that in the next general elections at least fifty per cent of the representatives are lady representatives so much so we will have a really lively and colourful House instead of a few women being scattered here and there as at present. There is nothing that they cannot accomplish if they come in sufficient numbers. They can insist upon the adoption of Tamil language and help Sri Gajapathy Nayagar in that direction.

“Hon. Member Sri K. Balasubramanya Ayyar referred to many things, especially the debt charges which we cannot avoid as we are situated to-day. He made a reference to land reforms and said that we should hasten slowly. I am glad that he said that we should hasten but hasten slowly. We are not proceeding hastily. We are looking into the matter as a whole and taking such decisions as will not adversely affect production. If the dismemberment of large estates will lead to increase in production, I will straightaway do it. The experience of the small holdings which form a vast majority of holdings is not very encouraging. But I am not prepared to accept the other view also that merely because there are large holdings, the owners thereof have been helpful in increasing production. If we take the Tanjore district which sets the pattern for large holdings taking the State as a whole, the average production is 1,700 lb. per acre, whereas it should be nearly 3,500 to 4,000 lb. What have the rich mirasdars done all these years for improving cultivation and increasing production on their lands? As a matter of fact, production, instead of increasing, is going down. We have to look at the question not merely from the point of view of breaking up large estate and the creation of

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small estates; we have to look at it from the point of view of the method of cultivation. That is what my Hon. Colleague the Minister for Agriculture is looking into. I am hoping that in the next budget we will be able to submit to this House and the other House a scheme by which we will be able to increase production to a tangible extent. I enquired about the method of cultivation in Japan. I was told that the average holding in Japan was not more than sixty or seventy cents, so much so that a family consisting of the husband, his wife and their children are able to look to the entire operations themselves and produce on an average about 4,000 to 5,000 lb. per acre. By paying personal attention, the Japanese are able to concentrate on intensified cultivation. In our State, we have got a certain number of enlightened land holders who are keen on, and are taking every step for increased production. But a majority of the land holders—if I am wrong in my statement, I will be glad about it—are not keen on increased production. It is enough for them if they get sufficient production for enabling them to carry on their life in Madras or any other city. If that is the attitude of mirasdars, they cannot blame the Government or the representatives of the people if they take any step for the dismemberment of such large estates. Whether large estates will remain intact or not depends upon the estate-holders themselves.

4 p.m. If only they take to cultivation seriously, adopt improved methods of cultivation and show tangible increase in production, I have absolutely no doubt that they will be maintained. The Planning Commission has stated that those large estates which are concentrating upon improved methods of cultivation and are able to show increased production, will not be touched. Therefore, the justification for the existence of these big holdings will depend upon the attitude of the holders themselves to agriculture and upon their own contribution to increase production.

“ Sir, I shall reply to only one more point and then close. The hon. Member Sri Narayanaswami Pillai referred to the Devasthanam funds and said, that we had taken them away for ourselves. I would like to give him the information that out of the amount of Rs. 40 lakhs, Rs. 23 lakhs are in the form of securities and they continue to be so. As for the balance of Rs. 17 lakhs, which was in the form of cash, it has to go into the general account. Once that department becomes a department of the Government, there is no provision in the Constitution to have a separate account with reference to that. Therefore, the sum of Rs. 17 lakhs has gone into the general accounts. But a portion of this amount is set apart for contribution to the provident fund of the employees. The balance of the amount is available for the use of the department. Simply because it is merged in the general accounts—which is unavoidable under the Constitution—it is not as if this amount will not be available for any improvements that may have to be carried out in the department as such. Therefore, I may assure the hon. Member that it is not a question of misappropriation by this Government of any temple money or money belonging to the Gods. As far as the development, improvement and maintenance

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of the temples are concerned, I am sure the Government will take sufficient care and, more than that, the public also should have sufficient faith in the Gods, so much so that there will be a necessity to maintain these temples. Thank you, Sir."

DR. V. K. JOHN:—"Sir, the Hon. the Finance Minister, I think, did well in giving some figures of taxation in other States. We shall be obliged to him if he will give us, when he presents the next Budget, figures for all States relating to income and expenditure on various items, the income per capita and all factual information."

* THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM:—"That means that I will have to distribute to all the hon. Members the Budget Memoranda of the various States. They are available here and I shall place them on the table of the House so that the Members interested in them can go through them."

MR. CHAIRMAN:—"The question is—

'That the Madras Appropriation (No. 2) Bill, 1953 (L.A. Bill No. 26 of 1953), as passed by the Legislative Assembly, be taken into consideration.'"

The motion was carried.

Clause 2, the Schedule, Clause 1, and the Preamble were put and carried.

* THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM:—"Sir, I move—

'That the Bill be read a third time and passed.'"

MR. CHAIRMAN:—"Motion moved—

'That the Madras Appropriation (No. 2) Bill, 1953 (L.A. Bill No. 26 of 1953), as passed by the Legislative Assembly, be read a third time and passed.'"

SRI M. P. GOVINDA MENON:—"Sir, I only want to thank the Hon. the Finance Minister for curbing the enthusiasm of the Tamil propagandist. I really admire the people who want to conduct the administration in their own regional language. I long for the day when the whole Kerala area will be administered by the people of Kerala in their own language. But so long as we from Malabar and South Kanara are here, I protest vehemently against calling this State as Thamizhagam and making Tamil the official language of the State. I admire the hon. Member Sri Gramani as a great champion of the cause of Tamil language. But so long as we are here, this State must be called the Madras State and Tamil should not be made the official language. With this protest, I support the Bill."

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MR. CHAIRMAN:—"The question is—

'That the Madras Appropriation (No. 2) Bill, 1953 (L.A. Bill No. 26 of 1953), as passed by the Legislative Assembly, be read a third time and passed.'"

The motion was carried and the Bill was passed.

MR. CHAIRMAN:—The House will now adjourn and meet again at 4 p.m. on Tuesday, the 5th January 1954."

The House then adjourned.

V.—PAPER LAID ON THE TABLE OF THE HOUSE.

Bill passed by the Assembly and received therefrom in the Council—

The Madras Appropriation (No. 2) Bill, 1953 (L.A. Bill No. 26 of 1953).

